

IN THESE TIMES

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40 Cents

Showdown in the Mineworkers Union



Arnold Miller, the incumbent UMW president, faces a serious challenge in the upcoming elections.

Earl Dotter

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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS

The legacy of the '60s: redemption of the self or noise and violence

The '60s as a period in American cultural history actually began in the late '50s with the rise of the Southern civil rights movement, the Beatniks, and the Cuban revolution and petered out by the early '70s with McGovern's crushing defeat, the self-destruction of "the movement," and the rise of such luminaries as David Bowie and Linda Lovelace. It was gone forever by the time Chicago 8 conspirator Rennie Davis joined the Majaraj-Ji and Eldridge Cleaver rediscovered God and the Cold War.

From the beginning the '60s had its defenders and detractors. Two recent works continue the controversy into the '70s. Daniel Bell's *Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* sees the '60s as a "pathetic celebration of the self," "an attack against reason itself." Morris Dickstein's *Gates of Eden* defends the '60s as a time in which an "Old Regime was unmasked ... whose substance was the increasingly decayed and irrelevant traditions of rural or small-town America, and whose stability was grounded in a suppression of grievances and new energies that could be suppressed no longer."

Both authors direct their immediate attention to novels, plays, music, painting, and sculpture, but they end up making a broader comment on the political culture from which these works emerged.

A radical egalitarianism of feeling.

Daniel Bell sees the '60s as an attempt "by the cultural mass to adopt and act out the life-style which had hitherto been the property of a small and talented elite."

While this elite of artists and intellectuals had attacked "bourgeois rationality" and "puritanical morality," they had also adhered to a strict "hierarchy of the mind," which ensured a tradition of quality and of respect for the canons of art and culture. In the '60s, these canons are swept away: a "radical egalitarianism of feeling superseded the older hierarchy of the mind."

To the tradition of the artistic elite, the '60s added something "distinctly its own: a concern with violence and cruelty; a preoccupation with the sexually perverse; a desire to make noise; an anti-cognitive and an anti-intellectual mood; an effort once and for all to erase the boundary between 'art' and 'life'; and a fusion of art and politics."

Bell's dismissal of rock music is characteristic: "Beginning with the new sound of the Beatles in 1964, rock reached such soaring crescendos that it was impossible to hear oneself think, and that may indeed have been its intention."

Bell's attack on the '60s has been echoed by Saul Bellow, Irving Howe, Diana and Lionel Trilling, and other literary notables. For the most part, they have been answered by uncritical defenders of the faith, like Theodore Roszak with his defense of the "shamanistic vision" or Charles Reich with his "consciousness III."

Such defenders end up making the case for the opposition. For instance, Roszak calls for the "subversion of the scientific world" and its replacement by the "non-intellective capacities of the personality."

Morris Dickstein is a more thoughtful and measured spokesman for the '60s who understands its vices as well as its virtues.

High culture becomes popular.

Dickstein sees the main cultural achievement of the '60s during the "nascent, hopeful period" of the new left and a "high phase" from 1965 to 1968 in which, fueled by the anti-war movement, the cultural rebellion spread throughout the country.

During these years, the conservative '50s novelists like Bernard Malamud or Saul Bellow who "kept to the problems of domestic entanglement, personal identity and private moral choice" were superseded by the explosive experimentation of Joseph Heller (*Catch-22*),

BOB DYLAN HIGHWAY 61 REVISITED



Was the sixties a period of vision, insight and social transformation in which millions came to question America's repressive morality and imperial ambitions, or was it a period of mass self-delusion and infantile utopianism that threatened to sweep away everything in its path?

Thomas Pynchon (*V*) and Kurt Vonnegut (*Cat's Cradle*), the "first novelists of a new imperial America," who satirized a society gone mad.

The cold war dismissal of Marxism was challenged in those early years by Herbert Marcuse, Norman O. Brown, and Paul Goodman who tried to synthesize Marx and Freud. And into the "class-bound" and "genteel" world of objective journalism, Norman Mailer, Tom Wolfe and Hunter Thompson intruded. Dickstein sees Mailer as particularly important both for being first and because his approach was to use the American ideals of individuality and manhood to criticize the dull conformity of society. Journalism, and the other arts as well, became tools of "self-confrontation" and "personal witness."

The underlying cultural vision matched the developing new left politics. Dickstein describes it as "Romantic Socialism: the Romantic vision of the redemption of the self, the libertarian socialist dream of a community of redeemed selves in the real world."

But Dickstein perhaps best captures the cultural achievement of the '60s in his discussion of rock music. Dickstein sees in rock an adequate defense against Bell and others, who would invoke against the '60s the distinction between "high art" and "mass" or "popular art."

Dickstein says: "What many highbrow critics are still unable to acknowledge is that the line between high culture and popular culture gave way in the '60s and on some fronts was erased entirely. Serious artists in all fields were attracted to the simplicity and emotional directness of popular culture and the complexities of modernist experimentation. As a result, serious artists turned to the acerbic irony and disgust of Eliot to the bardic intensities of Whitman and Blake, Bob Dylan and John Lennon wrote song lyrics that seemed as surreal as any modernist text."

Later, he says of the rock audience: "A mass audience was created that was as tolerant of obscurity—as mythically addicted to it—as the audience of the early part of the century was indignant at it."

The Weatherman phase.

In 1968, the '60s entered a third phase, which Dickstein calls the "Weatherman phase," after the SDS group of that name. In this phase, "the utopian hopes of an earlier movement turned sour, and some of the would-be free spirits were driven to such a pitch of frustration that they lost touch with reality."

In this period, Dylan fell silent while rock bands turned up their amps. Novelists like Pynchon, John Barth and Donald Barthelme became "embroiled in the problems of craft rather than art ... manipulating words and worlds with a meaningless impunity."

Most of Bell's most convincing examples belong to this period, e.g. a 1968 New York exhibit of anti-illusion art that featured dirt, hay, grease, and dog food.

Ironically, as artists and leftists groped desperately during this period for the unity of art, life, and politics, the division between "high" and "low" culture and between left politics and popular aspirations reasserted itself with a vengeance. Who but one of the elite could appreciate "air sculpture" or understand the ravings of a self-styled "revolutionary communist?" Or the new "socialist realism" of Newsreel and the "proletarian publishers"?

By seeing a difference between the radical subjectivity of early SDS, Bob Dylan's *Highway 61 Revisited*, and Marcuse's critique of "one-dimensional society" and the frenzied attacks against reason, art, and science, and the U.S. as a whole that characterized the "Weatherman phase," Dickstein rescues the achievement of the 1960s from its critics.

He rescues the nascent socialist politics of the period, based on American ideals of individuality, democracy, and equality. And he also resurrects for the '70s a recurrent ideal of American politics and literature: to synthesize the "lowbrow" and the "highbrow," "high culture" and "popular culture," "idealism" and "pragmatism." In the '60s a feeling synthesis was achieved through the concurrent development of artistic and social movements.

Homage to catatonia.

Dickstein treats the '70s as an extension of the Weatherman phase rather than as the beginning of the new period. "If the sixties were hysterical," he says, "the seventies risk being sterile and catatonic." Here finally Bell and Dickstein agree.

While there is some basis for this judgment (e.g., the state of popular music), there are also contradictory signs: the development of a feminist movement and literature in the late 1960s, the films of Francis Ford Coppola and Martin Scorsese, and novelists like E.L. Doctorow and Joan Didion.

From none of these could one argue that the '70s was a period of cultural reawakening on a par with the '60s. But neither do they amount to sterility or to a return to the benighted '50s.

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A bitter battle in Mineworkers

By Dan Marshall
Staff Writer

The United Mine Workers union (UMW) has reached a sharp turning point in its 87-year history. It can either proceed forward towards more membership participation in union affairs and more attention to working conditions—a course charted by the triumph of Miners for Democracy (MFD) in 1972—or it can slip backwards into chaos, internal dictatorship and, possibly, its final collapse as an independent union.

The union's fate may partly be determined on June 14 when 277,000 UMW members elect a new president. While the issues have been muddled by the intense guerilla warfare that pervades the union's upper ranks, the individual candidates present clear political alternatives.

Miller, Patrick and Patterson.

As the incumbent president who defeated W.A. "Tony" Boyle in 1972, Arnold Miller is probably the frontrunner. His administration has accomplished much in the areas of internal union democracy and contract provisions, but it has been plagued by Miller's failure to aggressively fight contract-breaching coal companies and conservative opposition on the International Executive Board.

Challenging Miller are Harry Patrick, current secretary-treasurer who is committed to the reform tradition of the MFD, and Lee Roy Patterson, a Board member from Kentucky who is the recognized leader of the resurgent Boyle forces within the union. On the sidelines is an embittered Mike Trbovich, current UMW vice-president, who was elected on the MFD slate but now supports Patterson.

Whoever wins the election battle and leads the union in contract negotiations this winter, a long coal strike is virtually certain when the national contract expires on Dec. 6. A primary demand will be the right to strike over local grievances, the only contract provision that can deflect the wave of wildcat strikes that has flooded the coal fields in recent years by compelling coal operators to respect whatever contract is agreed upon.

Mistakes, bad leadership, fights.

What happened to the idealism and enthusiasm that greeted Miller's historic victory in December 1972? The answer is not simple.

Interviews with UMW members and a close reading of press accounts reveal a combination of factors: mistakes by union reformers, inept leadership by Miller, a concerted effort by the former supporters of Boyle to regain control of the union and violations of the 1972 contract by coal companies.

"Democracy is a process, not just a series of changes in union procedures," comments Martin Boyle, a former UMW researcher. "The UMW is an interesting study of what happens when democracy comes from the top down. Miller was elected from the ranks. There was no support for him or other rank-and-file candidates needed experience in union administration because of Boyle's stranglehold on the union."

(Origins of MFD)

The MFD arose in the wake of the 1972 election. It was a coalition of reformers who had been disillusioned by the UMW's failure to fight for better wages and working conditions. They were joined by a group of miners who had been elected to the UMW Board in 1972 and who were determined to bring about a change in the union's leadership.

Miller, who had been elected president of the UMW in 1972, was a member of the MFD. He was a reformer who had been elected to the UMW Board in 1972 and who was determined to bring about a change in the union's leadership.



Harry Patrick, current UMW secretary-treasurer, decided to run only after it appeared Patterson could defeat Arnold Miller.

After the 1974 contract negotiations trouble surfaced everywhere. Boyle forces regrouped under the leadership of Lee Roy Patterson, while the reform forces splintered. Miller reacted with paranoia and failure to lead.

and the MFD convened in May 1972 to choose a presidential candidate. Though Mike Trbovich was the accepted leader of the MFD, Arnold Miller, the head of the West Virginia Black Lung Association and a deep miner for many years, was the compromise choice.

"Our first choice was Trbovich, but Miller introduced the idea that he wouldn't have a chance because of his foreign-sounding name," explains Bill Worthington, a MFD founder.

When Miller became president he implemented long-needed reforms in union rules and financial priorities. Officers salaries were cut. More money and union energy was expended to organize new mines. The union supported a 13-month strike in Harlan County, Ky., that would cost \$1 million and a young miner's life. (From 1973-76, 120 mines were organized and UMW membership jumped 50 percent.) Rank-and-file miners soon achieved the right to ratify their contracts and elect union officials previously appointed by Boyle.

Union democracy mixed blessing.

But union democracy proved to be a mixed blessing for Arnold Miller. When District elections approached in 1973 Miller argued that miners could make up their own minds and failed to aggressively campaign for MFD-oriented candidates. The result was a Board with overtly hostile representatives, some longing for the days of Tony Boyle and others who owed nothing to Miller or the MFD.

The MFD was then dismantled because Miller and other union leaders had served its purpose. They had no more to offer for expressing their grievances and their international union's reform philosophy.

After the 1974 contract negotiations trouble surfaced throughout the union. In wages, fringe benefits and the contract was the result of a long and hard fight. The union was in a position to negotiate a new contract with the coal companies.

soaring coal company profits, however, many miners expected larger wage hikes that would be sure to compensate for inflation.

No local right to strike.

The 1974 contract did not include the local right to strike. Instead, a complex grievance procedure was instituted that enables coal operators to push a dispute to arbitration and pits rank-and-file miners against legal technicians bought by the coal companies.

Patrick now charges that Miller settled with the coal companies in 1974 without consulting others on the negotiating team. The UMW could have won more by holding out, he says.

Dissatisfaction with the contract also allowed the Boyle forces to regroup under the leadership of Lee Roy Patterson and others on the Board. Patterson voted against the contract, charging that the wage hikes were too low and that it "has produced needless wildcats and lawsuits."

In June 1975 Trbovich stepped into the fray on Patterson's side and publicly accused Miller and Patrick of financial mismanagement. (The Labor department later cleared the administration of any wrongdoing.)

Firmly controlled by conservative, Boyle-oriented members, the union's board did everything possible to cripple the Miller administration. It cut UMW organizing and removed funding from COMPAC, the union's political arm. In violation of the UMW constitution the board voted to impeach Miller.

Miller was impeached at the union's September 1976 convention as Miller lost more and more control over the union's power structure. His image was also damaged by the record number of wildcat strikes that swept the coal fields, slowing company payment to the union's Health and Retirement Fund.

Miller responded with paranoia. He accused these attacks of being a conspiracy to overthrow him and to bring about a change in the union's leadership.

Miller had her office door removed. Critics also charge that he has made 35 trips to a Charleston, W.Va., motel in the last year to escape union responsibilities. Seventeen persons resigned or were fired from the UMW staff in one year over policy differences with Miller.

"He was never a man who enjoyed slugging it out toe-to-toe in the brawling give-and-tak of union politics. In Miller's hands a gavel is as useless as a bag of marshmallows. He is a man of many good qualities but none of them equipped him for leadership," writes Tom Bethell, former UMW research director, in *Coal Patrol*.

Despite events that have seemingly discredited the Miller administration, many miners continue to support the silver-haired, soft-spoken miner from West Virginia. Lou Antal, president of District 6, blames the union's difficulties on "dirty politics" by Patterson and moves by coal operators to disrupt the union.

"Miller has kept every promise that he made," Antal says, "and will go down in our union's history, on his record, with John L. Lewis and John Mitchell (first UMW president). Sure Miller is overaging and democratic, but that's not bad leadership!"

Questionable slate.

Miller fired his entire campaign staff in early May. His election materials, as printed in four special issues of the *UMW Journal* along with statements by Patrick and Patterson, have the slick look of an advertising agency job.

He also fired his campaign committee, a group of miners who had been elected to the UMW Board in 1972 and who were determined to bring about a change in the union's leadership.

More union democracy means better contracts. Miller argues, because the leadership of the union is not the same as the leadership of the coal companies.

Miller's response to these attacks was to accuse his opponents of being a conspiracy to overthrow him and to bring about a change in the union's leadership.

MEDIA

Two reporters fight libel case

Bergman and Ramirez feared that the Hearst corporation, with its own interests to protect, would leave them high and dry, with their careers in ruins...

By Ken McEldowney
SAN FRANCISCO—The journalist community here is banding together to protect two reporters facing \$30 million in libel suits for a series of articles published last May in the *San Francisco Examiner*. At stake are the future of two investigative reporters, the obligation of a newspaper to adequately protect its reporters and the fate of a 23-year-old Chinese-American.

The articles in question detailed the sworn allegations of witnesses in a 1972 San Francisco Chinatown murder case who claimed they had been coerced or misled by authorities into testifying against an innocent man, Richard W. Lee, leading to his conviction for first degree murder and a life prison sentence.

The articles, written by *Examiner* reporter Paul Ramirez in collaboration with freelance writer Lowell Bergman, quoted one witness—a young Chinese woman who glimpsed the killer through a window—as saying she felt pressured

by police into identifying someone and, later, into testifying against Lee.

The other witness, Thomas H. Porter Jr., had testified that Lee made a dramatic “jail house” confession to him while the two were cellmates awaiting trial on unrelated charges. The *Examiner* articles reported that Porter, in a sworn statement, retracted his testimony, saying it was fabricated by Lee’s prosecutor.

Two homicide inspectors and a former assistant district attorney who had been implicated in the series asked for retractions in June 1976. The *Examiner* refused and stood behind the stories. In November the three filed libel suits against the two reporters and the Hearst Corporation which owns the *Examiner*.

The *Examiner* then informed Bergman, who was not employed by the paper and who had received no direct compensation for his part in investigating the articles, that it would not provide him legal defense. Ramirez’s request for independent legal assistance, likewise, was denied by the corporation, which did say that it intended to defend itself against the charges.

Bergman and Ramirez feared that the corporation, with its own interests to protect, would negotiate a settlement that would get the paper off the hook but would leave the reporters out in the cold, quite possibly with their reputations and careers ruined. When the paper refused to provide independent counsel for the reporters and, indeed, refused to even acknowledge any responsibility for Bergman’s defense, the two reporters had no choice but to obtain their own legal



Lowell Bergman and Raoul Ramirez question the price that investigative reporters should have to pay for their work. Shouldn't the newspaper have an obligation to provide them adequate support?

counsel.

Members of the Bay Area Newspaper Guild and area freelancers immediately formed the Bergman-Ramirez Defense Committee to help raise legal defense funds. Early fears that the Newspaper Guild might be reluctant to help Bergman, who was not an *Examiner* reporter and not in the Guild, proved incorrect. Although the Guild has been critical of newspapers under Guild contract using freelancers to perform work that should be done by union members, they also recognized the danger that this case presented.

The Media Alliance, a bay area organization of nearly 350 freelance and staff media workers, has also been active in defense of Bergman and Ramirez, as have journalists from around the country.

Area journalists are concerned about the intimidating effect the libel suit and the Hearst Corporation’s refusal to provide independent counsel will have on the future of investigative reporting in the

area. They argue that reporters are likely to hesitate printing information that might lead to costly court cases unless they are assured of an adequate legal defense.

Meanwhile, Richard Lee, whose case brought on the entire controversy remains in jail. The original *Examiner* articles brought on a flurry of interest in his case, but that died down after Thomas Porter once again changed his testimony and said that Lee had indeed confessed to him in jail, and after the judge who had heard the original case refused to order a new trial. Any further progress on his case will probably have to wait for resolution of the libel suit against Bergman and Ramirez, who stand by their original articles questioning the conviction.

The Bergman/Ramirez Defense Committee can be contacted c/o Media Alliance, 13 Columbus Ave., San Francisco, CA 94111.

Ken McEldowney is a bay area freelance writer and coordinator of the Media Alliance.

Continued from page 3.

Mineworkers

Sam Church, vice president on Miller’s slate, supported Boyle in 1972 and at that time considered Miller a “stooge.” He is one of the most disliked, hot-tempered officers in the UMW, says one critic. He is considered a “thug” by others, who fear he will end up running the union if Miller wins.

According to Patrick, James Blair, Miller’s vice president for pension affairs, has never apologized for sending a letter to locals seeking support because he is “a white man.” (Booker Thomas, Patterson’s choice for the office, is black.)

Patterson like USW’s McBride.

Compared to Lee Roy Patterson’s, however, Arnold Miller’s running mates look like white-robed choir boys. A 42-year-old strip miner from Madisonville, Ky., Patterson emphasizes his “deep roots in the UMWA” because his father was a union member for 55 years.

Boyle appointed him president of District 23 in 1969. (He later opposed the election of district officers and board members.) He won his board position by a narrow margin against a relatively unknown candidate.

The thrust of Patterson’s campaign is strikingly similar to Lloyd McBride’s successful bid for president of the United Steel Workers. Patterson accuses outsiders of dominating the Miners for Democracy, running Miller’s 1972 campaign and raising money from liberal intellectuals. In one piece of campaign literature he breaks down the contributors to Edward Sadlowski’s USW campaign and claims that the same people financed Miller/Patterson.

Patterson’s connections with the USW and its president I.W. Abel go deeper than campaign fliers, however. His campaign manager is Chuck Baker, a long-time associate of Abel who directed his



Lee Roy Patterson

UMW Journal

Patterson’s connection with I.W. Abel and the Steelworkers goes deeper than campaign flyers. He has even hinted at a possible merger of the two unions...

1965 race for USW president. Baker reportedly started work without arranging a fee.

Patterson told reporters on May 4 that he would “definitely” consider merging the UMW into the USW if elected. Since miners are already nervous about USW attempts to organize coal mines in Kentucky and out West, Patterson’s remark is thought to hurt his election prospects.

Patrick has charged that Patterson “spent part of his work years in scab surface mines.” Patterson has never denied it.

But Patterson does have notable support from many union officers and from the “business community.” Sixteen out

of 21 board members back him, along with 18 presidents of the union’s 21 districts. He received 362 local nominations, more than Miller and Patrick combined. The *Wall Street Journal* has dubbed him “the frontrunner.” (Patterson is not running with a full slate, so he and his running mates will be listed individually at the bottom of the ballot. Miners will have the option of endorsing the Miller or Patrick slates with only a single vote, on the other hand.)

Patrick most reform-oriented.

If the UMW is to continue on a politically progressive, reform course, observers say that the best person for the job of international president is Harry Patrick, the 46-year-old secretary-treasurer.

Patrick, an underground miner for 18 years and a campaign manager for Jock Yablonski, reluctantly decided to run when it appeared that Patterson could defeat Miller. “If I did not run for the presidency,” he says, “the members of this union would be faced with having to choose between a man who will not lead, and a man who would lead the UMWA back to the dark days when we had no democracy...”

Patrick declared late and is clearly the underdog. But he is reported to have a greater appeal to the young miners who now comprise a majority of union members. In 1971 he led a rank-and-file revolt against a weak contract that the membership could not ratify. As secretary-treasurer he undertook a thorough overhaul of UMW finances by cutting unnecessary expenses, reviewing union investments and establishing a credit union.

As a presidential contender Patrick has presented a more detailed, comprehensive program than either of his opponents. Declaring that the “old days of absolute management rights are over,” Patrick places the local right to strike at the head of his bargaining program. Promising “full time leadership for a full time job,” Patrick pledges to fight for more safety protections, a continuing training-education program for local un-

ionists, coalfield medical clinics (shut down by Miller) and a reallocation of union funds to high priority programs.

More emphasis on West.

If elected, he is expected to emphasize organizing the Western coal fields. (Over the last few years the proportion of mined coal under UMW contract has slid from 70 to 54 percent, primarily because of high-yield strip mines of the West.) Mike Tamtom, Patrick’s candidate for secretary-treasurer, is a western district president who would be stationed there full time to coordinate organizing efforts.

Too close to call.

As of this writing the election battle is very close. Over the last five years rank-and-file miners have gained an independent spirit that will be difficult for any new president to harness. Many are Vietnam veterans who balk at blindly risking their lives for coal company profits.

In 1975-76 rank-and-file miners gained extensive experience leading wildcat strikes, which have increased tenfold in the last 15 years (from 120 in 1960 to 1,139 in 1975). The wildcats came from miners’ anger at the refusal of coal operators to settle grievances at the mine site. Company violations of negotiated absentee rules and unsafe conditions have sparked many strikes.

Any new UMW president will face immense problems. He will have to unify a faction-ridden union, confront a haughty coal industry and ward off government pressures to refrain from a long strike and “inflationary” wage gains. The election’s outcome will also undoubtedly influence the fight for union democracy in other unions.

Rank-and-file miners might remember the words of Jock Yablonski in judging the actions of their new president: “My duty to coal miners, as I see it, is not to withdraw, but to strive for leadership for this union, to reinvigorate its activity with idealism, and to make it truly a union of miners, rather than a union of inaccessible bureaucrats.”

POLITICAL ANALYSIS

Watering down Humphrey/Hawkins

By Elliot Carrie

During his phone-in in early March, Jimmy Carter told a caller that the Humphrey/Hawkins bill was "pretty much a philosophical kind of expression of our government's commitment to full employment." But the bill—reintroduced in the House this session in its fourth major version—is really a compromise between the demand for jobs by labor and minorities and business's need for sufficiently high unemployment to ensure its control of the labor force.

The terms of the compromise reveal much about the dynamics of the corporate economy, the economic priorities of the Carter administration and the dimming prospects for genuine full employment in the U.S.

Making work a public matter.

In its original form—as it was sponsored in the House by Augustus Hawkins (D-Cal.) and Henry Reuss (D-Wis.)—the Humphrey/Hawkins bill was a logical and radical response to the disintegration of conventional Keynesian economic policies. It rejected the "trickle-down" approach to jobs and income that has dominated economic thinking since the Employment Act of 1946.

In its place the Humphrey/Hawkins bill called for comprehensive federal planning of production and investment to meet social needs and guarantee employment to everyone "able and willing" to work. In effect, it proposed to make the extent and nature of work a matter of public, rather than private, determination.

The bill was notable for its emphasis on developing jobs for people traditionally excluded from the labor force—youth, women, minorities, the old and disabled. Instead of opting for a particular definition of the percentage of "acceptable" unemployment, it insisted that even people who had never worked before had the right to a job and enforced that right with a provision enabling jobseekers to sue the government in the federal courts.

The bill called for developing "reservoirs of public service and private employment projects" to supplement shrinking job opportunities in the private sector. Beyond that, it directly confronted the need to shift priorities in federal investment and spending. It talked about military conversion, serious price controls and controls over capital export. It proposed that the federal government begin to tackle the problems of "the concentration of economic power" and the "level and distribution of income and wealth."

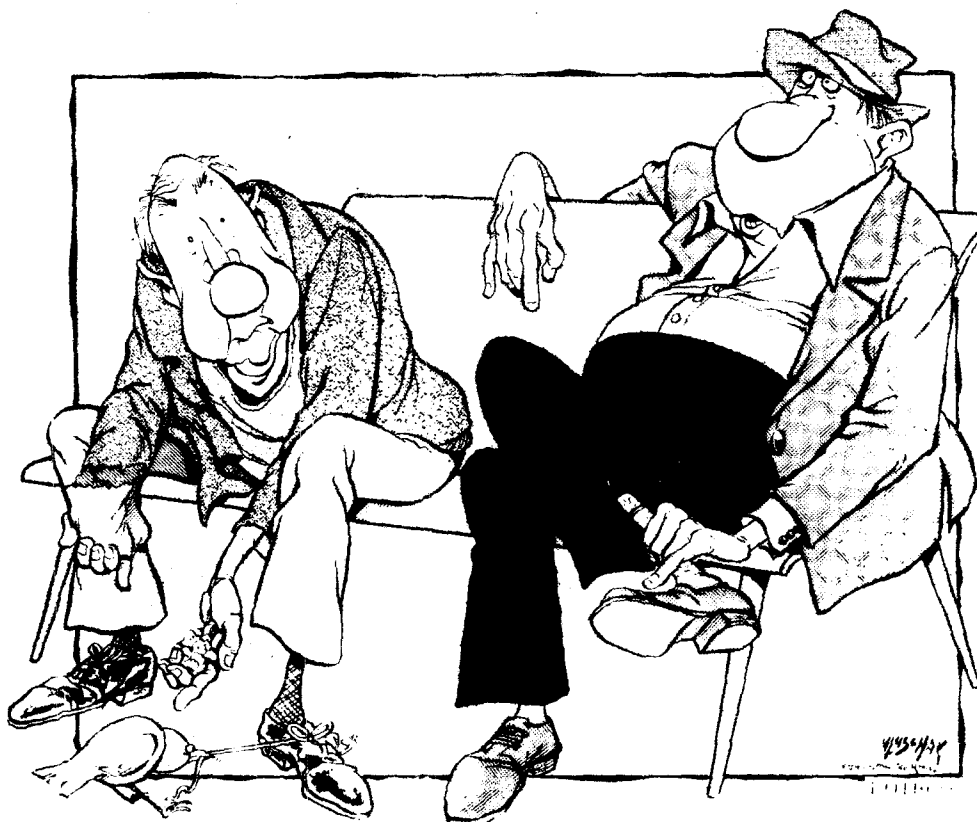
Much of corporate challenge gone.

After three major revisions, much of this challenge to corporate control of investment and employment has been stripped from the bill. In the face of stiff opposition, the bill has become more and more a measure aimed at reducing the extremes of unemployment while keeping corporate control intact.

The intensity of opposition to the original bill, as well as some of its sources, was unexpected. Though the bill drew the early support of a few unions, including the UAW and UE, the AFL-CIO initially opposed it. They rejected the job guarantee provision as unworkable, but promised support for a more "realistic" version.

Under their and Hubert Humphrey's influence HR-50 underwent a series of revisions designed to placate corporate and congressional opposition. By the third version, introduced in spring 1975, Humphrey, its Senate sponsor, was able to describe the bill with only a moderate exaggeration as a bill of "moderate enterprise."

This version dropped the bill's original goal of creating 10 million new jobs by 1980, and instead set a goal of 5 million. It also dropped the bill's original goal of creating 10 million new jobs by 1980, and instead set a goal of 5 million. It also dropped the bill's original goal of creating 10 million new jobs by 1980, and instead set a goal of 5 million.



"Ah, spring — makes one feel like taking the day off... if I only had a job."

After three major revisions, much of the challenge to corporate control of investment and employment has been stripped from the Humphrey/Hawkins full employment bill.

unemployment to be achieved within four years, measured on the basis of the labor force as currently defined—all those "able, willing, and seeking to work."

It relegated federal job-creation to a "last resort," after traditional fiscal and monetary means of stimulating the economy. And it changed the bill's title to "Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act" to indicate its more moderate aims.

Schultze's inflationary criticisms.

Even with these concessions the third version ran aground in Congress on the shoals of continued corporate opposition and unexpected liberal criticism; most notably from Charles Schultze, formerly Lyndon Johnson's budget director, then a member of the Brookings Institution and soon to become head of Carter's Council of Economic Advisors.

Schultze's influential criticism, echoed by a variety of business and congressional opponents of the bill, centered on two related ideas. Both reflected the traditional corporate antipathy to direct federal job creation and affirmed the virtues of a slack labor market.

The first was the idea that massive public job creation would, as Schultze told the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Poverty and Migratory Labor in 1976, cause a "steady drain of labor away from private industry into 'last resort' jobs." Fleeing from sub-standard wages and working conditions in the private sector, labor would become scarce "over a wide range of private jobs." Wage rates would go up, and prices would follow. Significant job creation, they would have a serious inflationary effect.

Schultze's second argument, also focused on the bill's inflationary effect, but from a different angle. He argued that the economy sufficiently to bring the unemployment rate down below 5 percent.

Schultze argued, creates inflation because it tends to tighten the labor market excessively for those workers—mainly adult white males—whose unemployment level is already relatively low.

This "high employment region" has moved upward from about 4 percent in the '60s, according to an elaboration of the argument by Schultze's Brookings colleague, George L. Perry, in the Institution's recent volume, *Setting National Priorities: The Next Ten Years*. This is because demographic changes in the labor force have expanded the proportion of people—especially youth and women—who typically suffer higher unemployment rates.

This makes it that much harder to reduce the overall level of joblessness without lowering the rate for white male adults to the point where they can successfully demand higher wages. Minorities, youth and women, therefore, have to settle for high unemployment in order to keep others from getting too much money.

Given this dilemma, Brookings recommends boosting training programs to upgrade the "employability" of the high-unemployment groups. The question of where these people will go after they are "upgraded" is carefully avoided.

Fourth version even weaker.

The opposition of these liberal to full employment has been crucially important in shaping the administration's attitude toward Humphrey/Hawkins. It came as something of a shock to the bill's partisans.

The economist liberals—the Brookings Institution and the Council of Economic Advisors—were the most disappointing. An economist on the left, for example, attacked by people on the right, is really a bitter pill to swallow.

Their opposition halted the bill's progress last August.

Since then it has been reworked once again. The current, fourth version goes a long way toward meeting those objections, further tempering the bill with additional "anti-inflationary" modifications.

Carter's role in this has been especially important: "We changed it to suit him, you know," says Bill Higgs of Hawkins' Washington staff.

The current bill includes an even more explicit commitment to maintaining private sector domination of the labor market. A fundamental objective is to "maintain trends in the ratio of private employment to civilian public employment" similar to those from 1946 to the present.

The full-employment goal has been redefined as 3 percent adult (over 20) employment, with youth joblessness to be reduced "as rapidly as feasible" but with no timetable or numerical goal suggested. The "reservoirs" of public service employment cannot be put into operation until at least two years after the passage of the bill.

As if that weren't sufficient, the current bill specifically "establishes the policy that such projects shall be so designed as not to draw any workers from private employment." Toward this end, public jobs must be "mainly in the lower ranges of skills and pay."

A little-known provision in the new bill further restricts the range of public jobs that may be created. Earlier versions mandated union-scale wages for any building trades work required for all federal projects under the provisions of the Bacon/Davis Act. The new bill removes this troublesome point by simply excluding from the "reservoirs" all work "to which the Bacon/Davis Act applies."

Still better than Carter's program.

These changes, according to several congressional staffers, probably mean that the administration won't oppose the bill if it gets through the House, though some further attempts to modify the bill are expected.

Given past performance, Carter's team is likely to call for still more "anti-inflationary" changes. One target may be the 3 percent adult employment goal, still too low and too specific to allay the Brookings crowd's fears of a tightening labor market for adult white men.

The administration's chilly attitude, and the diversionary impact of its own economic proposals, have taken some of the steam out of Humphrey/Hawkins. So far, the bill has attracted 70 co-sponsors in the House—a respectable number but less than the 100 it drew last year.

On the other hand, the Congressional Black Caucus has made it their first priority and has begun an effort to stimulate grassroots action on the bill. Under their initiative a loose coalition is pulling together behind the bill, including among others much of organized labor, the National Council of Churches, the Conference of Mayors, the National Student Association, the ADA and the DSOC. The aim, as Ehrlich puts it, is to "put pressure on Congress from the bottom."

These forces behind Humphrey/Hawkins believe it still offers a better deal than the administration's own economic program. Three percent adult unemployment in four years would leave the U.S. with rates of joblessness that would have topped many European governments in the 1960s—but it beats the 5-7 percent figure offered by Carter's crew. More generally, the bill would establish the beginnings of a more effective planning structure—a structure that could become the terrain for the future of the labor force.

Elliot Carrie is a writer and author of a book on the history of the labor movement.

UPDATE

Post pressmen sentenced

WASHINGTON—Twenty-one months after their strike against the *Washington Post* began, 14 press operators were sentenced May 20 to stiff fines, imposed "work-release," and in one instance, jail, for actions stemming from the *Post*'s attempt to break Local 6 of the International Printing and Graphics Communications Union.

The 14 had pled guilty to reduced charges at a hearing April 14. They had been accused of damaging the *Post* pressroom on Oct. 1, 1975, the night the strike began. The *Post* sought \$15 million in a highly publicized damage suit. Subsequent investigation reduced the claim to \$250,000.

Judge Sylvia Bacon meted out the stiffest sentence, one year in jail, to Jack MacIntosh who was convicted April 15 of assault on liberal columnist Jules Witcover, who attempted to cross the press operators' picket line at the *Post*.

Bacon sentenced eight other press operators to 60 to 120 days under detention in a work-release program, an ironic outcome for men whose chief aim had been to protect their right to work at their jobs.

"Both the prosecutor and the judge were extremely political," commented Local 6 Defense Committee worker Fred Soloway. "They both talked about 'deterrent' and what's 'appropriate' in a labor dispute. It was a green light for employers to go ahead and do what they feel like."

Defense attorney David Rein pointed out there can be no appeal for the 14 since they had entered a plea of guilty, but he characterized the sentencing as "extremely harsh."

Today, Local 6 has been destroyed at the *Post*. Strike breakers have been taken on as full-time workers, replacing the press operators. They recently voted for non-union representation, decertifying Local 6 as their bargaining agent.

—Liberation News Service

Cleveland system sold

In one of the closest Cleveland Council votes in years and amid cries of "sellout" by citizens, the Cleveland Municipal Light Plant was sold to the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co., giving the private power company a virtual monopoly in northeast Ohio. The vote was 18-15, but may not be final (ITT, May 18).

The legislation will not take effect for 40 days because council leadership lacked the two-thirds vote to make it effective immediately.

Almost at once Democratic Clerk of Courts Dennis Kucinich, seen as Cleveland Mayor Ralph Perk's major opponent in the mayoral election this fall, announced he would start a petition drive for a referendum to put the sale to a vote of the people. Some 20,000 signatures are needed and most observers feel that will be no obstacle.

The United Auto Workers announced that it would fully support the petition drive, calling the sale a "monopoly power grab." Although labor opposed the sale most unions remained inactive in the struggle to stop the sale.

Council was acting under pressure from a federal court that had ordered \$13.5 million in back bills paid by MUNY to CEI. The charges had been under dispute.

CEI has for years been attempting to obtain the city plant and recently a Nuclear Regulatory Commission board upheld charges by the city that CEI had violated anti-trust laws to damage MUNY. The city, under the \$158 million sales agreement, will drop all its \$325 million anti-trust charges against CEI.

—Roldo Bartimole

CIVIL RIGHTS

Wilmington 10 denied retrial despite new evidence

By Bob McMahon
BURGAW, N.C.—"I'm not here to pass on the guilt or innocence of the defendants. I am only here to determine whether their constitutional rights were denied. I find no denial of their constitutional rights."

With those words, North Carolina judge George Fountain denied a motion for a new trial for the Wilmington 10.

Fountain's ruling came swiftly May 20 at the close of a complex two-week hearing on a defense contention that the prosecution in the 1972 trial had induced three key witnesses to perjure themselves.

The decision is unlikely to lay to rest the growing national pressure from those convinced that serious injustices were committed in the 1972 case that sent ten civil rights activists to prison for terms totalling 282 years on arson convictions (ITT, March 23).

Publicly, North Carolina officials were happy with their victory in the latest round in the courts. Privately, they admit the ruling is unlikely to end what North Carolina's Attorney General Rufus Edmisten described as "A political nightmare."

The case was decided on a procedural issue—whether the prosecution misconduct prevented a fair trial—with the question of guilt or innocence ruled out of order. Judge Fountain told reporters that he "made it a point never to consider their guilt or innocence."

His ruling that the defense failed to prove prosecution misconduct will be hotly disputed.

Three witnesses recant.

Three of the 1972 witnesses for the prosecution—Allen Hall, Jerome Mitchell, and Eric Junious—have recanted their testimony in recent months, charging they committed perjury at the request of prosecutor Jay Stroud.

At the hearing Mitchell and Hall presented a detailed picture of how they were coached on what to say on the witness stand. Their testimony was supported by a number of prison inmates who witnessed their treatment during this period or discussed the deal with one or both of the two later.

After they testified against the Wilmington 10, court records show, both Hall and Mitchell had their sentence altered to give them "youthful offender" status, which would allow their release on parole at any time.

But in fact Hall and Mitchell did not get out of jail as soon as they had expected, and they began to complain—in letters to Stroud, to his superior in the Wilmington district attorney's office, to the parole board and to fellow inmates.

Eric Junious, the third witness, testified that he had lied on the stand in 1972 because he expected to be given a mini-bike by Stroud if his testimony was satisfactory. Junious was 13 at the time of the trial.

Attacking Hall's credibility.

Attorneys for the state challenged the credibility of all three recanting witnesses. Mitchell, they suggested, was trying to clear his name with other prison inmates who had ostracized and harassed him for informing on the Wilmington 10.

But the state centered its attack on Hall. Stroud, who led off the rebuttal testimony for the state, began by producing a tape recording of a phone conversation he had with Allen Hall the previous week in which Hall said his 1972 testimony was true. The conversation was taped without Hall's knowledge or consent.

Hall began the conversation, calling the hearing on a new trial for the Wilmington 10 a "mistake." After that opening Stroud took the initiative, asking a long series of leading questions to which, Hall

The Wilmington 10

REV. BEN CHAVIS



REGINALD EPPS



JERRY JACOBS



JAMES MCKOY



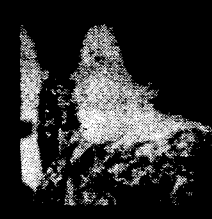
WAYNE MOORE



MARVIN PATRICK



ANN SHEPPARD



CONNIE TIDELL



WILLIAM VEREEN



WILLIAM WRIGHT



gave brief, one-word answers. "Yes." "No." "Right."

Several days later James Ferguson, chief defense attorney, gave the court a tape of a conversation he had had with Hall, in which Hall returned to saying that his 1972 trial was false. Hall claimed that he had been "pressured" into the phone conversation with Stroud.

Hall, 24, has been an erratic, frustrating witness for both sides. FBI agents who interviewed Hall in prison recently during a civil rights probe of the Wilmington 10 case told of being told one day that his 1972 testimony was true. A few days later they interviewed Hall again and were told that he had lied in 1972 and had tried to take back his recent recantation only after being harassed and threatened with death by prison guards.

Hall's own lawyer has described him in such terms as "unstable" and "paranoid."

Fountain indicated to reporters he had simply decided not to believe the three recanting witnesses, despite the supporting testimony and documents produced by the defense. He did, however, allow several defense witnesses unheard at the 1972 trial to present their version of events in Wilmington.

The Rev. Eugene Templeton and his wife Donna Templeton were the main witnesses. In 1971 Templeton was minister of Gregory Congregational Church, a black church in Wilmington.

Early that year, when black students in the high schools began a series of protests, they came to Templeton for the use of his church as headquarters. Seeing that they lacked effective leadership in an increasingly polarized and dangerous situation, Templeton asked his denomination's social action agency for help.

The United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice sent Ben Chavis, a gifted young black community organizer. Chavis rapidly asserted a disciplined non-violent leadership over the Wilmington black protest movement.

By the beginning of February 1972, however, white authorities in Wilmington showed no signs of responding to the student protests. White nightriders began traveling in armed car caravans through the black community and the Gregory church was under an intermittent siege.

On the night of Feb. 6, the Templetons testified, Ben Chavis, several other defendants, and a number of others were in their house, discussing what to do next. Chavis spent the entire evening there. About nine that evening, they saw the light from a nearby fire and someone ran up to say Mike's (a white-owned grocery) was burning.

(In 1972 Hall had testified that Chavis spent the evening addressing a meeting of 100 blacks in the church, urging them to take violent revenge on the whites. He then allegedly led the ten defendants and Hall out to firebomb Mike's grocery and ambush police.)

Defense attorney Ferguson has already announced his intention to appeal the Burgaw ruling as soon as a written opinion from Judge Fountain becomes available.

The decision is likely to bring new pressure on the federal government to intervene in the case. Early this year the Justice department conducted a probe into whether the civil rights of the Ten had been violated. No decisions were announced on whether to seek indictment of prosecution officials, and Justice department spokesmen hinted they were waiting to see if the outcome of the defense's motion for a new trial would remove the pressure to act.

Bob McMahon is a freelance journalist in North Carolina.

CITIES

Greenlining wins in Brooklyn

For about a month, Brooklyn residents marched in front of one of their neighborhood savings banks, Flatbush Federal. It was a new occupation for most of them. They normally spent their days as office workers or housewives. But they were there like clockwork—every Friday from noon until two and Mondays from about five until seven.

They carried signs that said, "No Mortgages, No Deposits." And they meant business. They collected pledges from depositors who agreed to withdraw their accounts if the banks didn't begin to reinvest in their neighborhood.

Brooklyn organizers call this system "greenlining." It is their response to the banks' practice of "redlining," or refusing to grant mortgage loans to people in the neighborhood.

"The bankers are thinking as people instead of as bankers," says Tom Moogan, chairman of "Bank on Brooklyn," the group which organized the campaign. "They see the cities going to hell, and as part of the general miasma, they decide they shouldn't invest. If they thought as bankers, they'd invest here."

At least two banks have confirmed figures presented by Moogan and his group that show that they make few loans in the city. Flatbush Federal, for instance, made 91 percent of its mortgage loans outside the city last year.

"We'd love to stop picketing, no one likes marching around a bank," Moogan said at the beginning of May, "but we won't stop until the bank pays attention to us."

A few days later, when the group stepped up their campaign and threatened to hold a press conference in front of Flatbush Federal that would include interviews with people who had been denied loans by the bank, bank officials conceded and agreed to advertise the availability of mortgage loans and make more of them in the neighborhood.

Months of organizing.

The Flatbush Federal concession had not been easy. It had taken months of organizing and pressure.

Moogan and his group started meeting last fall after they saw a report on the banks' lending practices compiled by a consumer group, the New York Public Interest Research Group (NYPIRG).

Looking at real estate records block by block, NYPIRG had researched the mortgage and home-improvement lending practices of seven Brooklyn banks. After five months of research they were able to document that only one of the banks had made substantial loans in Brooklyn.

That bank in 1975 granted 722 mortgage loans in Brooklyn, totalling \$10 billion. The other six combined made only 464 loans, for a total of \$25 million.

A NYPIRG organizer then contacted neighborhood residents and from there the group has grown to over 100 members. It is now meeting with other groups in Queens and Brooklyn that are planning similar strategies to the "Bank on Brooklyn" campaign.

Days on Wall Street.

Charlene Gannon, along with 10 neighbors, initially went to a house party to hear the NYPIRG report.

"We'd only been here about a month, and we were a little shy," she says. "We didn't want to get labelled 'activists' or 'troublemakers.' But once the ball got rolling and we saw most of our neighbors were interested too, we didn't care about labels."

Charlene, like other people from the neighborhood, spent many October and November days on Wall Street, looking at disclosure statements for local banks

that NYPIRG had not had time to document. (The disclosure statements had become available to the public Oct. 1 under new state and federal laws.)

After the group collected the information they held a general meeting and targeted three banks for immediate action. They sent letters to the banks stating their displeasure with current lending practices and requesting a meeting with bank officials to discuss four requests.

Four requests.

They asked that each bank reinvest its "fair share" in the neighborhood, calculated through comparison of deposits, assets and loans made throughout the area. In the case of Flatbush Federal they asked that \$670,000 be lent out in the neighborhood.

Second, they asked for the same lending terms as those granted to suburban residents—25 percent down and 25 years to pay.

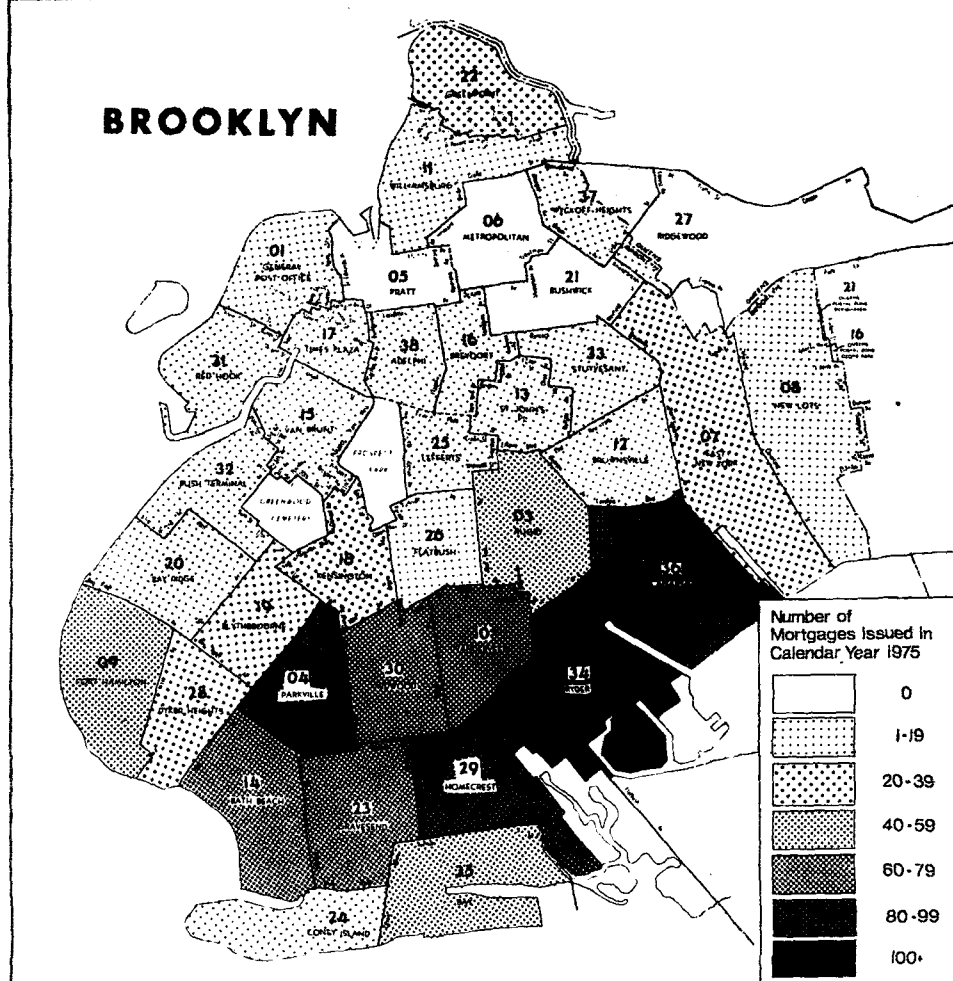
Third, they asked that the banks advertise their lending capability. In the past, the group said, the banks had emphasized "savings" in their ads and neglected "loans."

And fourth, they wanted quarterly public inspections of bank records to assure that the banks were changing their practices.

One bank quickly agreed to everything, except setting an exact figure on the amount of money they would lend in the coming year. According to Moogan, bank officials promised they would loan the requested amount or more, but were hesitant to set an exact figure.

The two other banks were not so receptive. One took its time setting a meeting date with the group but finally acceded to the group's demands. Flatbush Federal, the third, initially turned down every

BROOKLYN



An examination of seven banks revealed that only one had made substantial loans in the city. Some 91 percent of Flatbush Federal's loans, for instance, were outside the city.

request. For weeks bank officials said they would only consider acceding to one demand: changing their required down-payment from 40 percent to 30 percent.

The bank also launched its own public relations campaign to combat the image projected by the picketers in front of the bank, publishing ads in neighborhood papers.

Not enough demand?

Thomas Antoniello, vice president of Flatbush Federal, said the bank made few loans in the neighborhood because there was little demand for them. Events following publicity about the NYPIRG study would seem to challenge this argument. After the study hit the New York City papers, Greenpoint Savings, the neighborhood bank that had made the most loans in Brooklyn, was barraged with

loan requests.

I.J. Lasurdo, president of Greenpoint Savings, confirmed that there was a demand for loans in the neighborhood, more than his bank could handle. "From what we can see, the demand for mortgages has been increasing substantially."

"We're overcommitted 100 percent. We have no money left to loan out. We have started to turn people away," he said.

The Bank on Brooklyn group is hoping to assure those people of somewhere to go. Having succeeded at three banks, the group has targeted three more, and plans the same tactics they used in the first round of negotiations.

Since the next three banks are much larger, the group is also going to ask for refinancing of multiple dwellings in addition to regular mortgage loans.

Betty Holcomb is a freelance writer in New York.

COALITION POLITICS

July 4th coalition forms Alliance

The new organization emerges with far too many programs for a loose coalition effort.

by open discussion and frank disagreement. Yet the final program was adopted almost unanimously. It was, he says, the largest multi-national collection of leftists to agree to join work in a long time.

Last year's July 4 coalition brought 50,000 people to Philadelphia July 4, but coexistence among the various interests was uneasy. There were debates, for example, about the legitimacy of some feminist and gay liberation issues, and over how to frame demands for minority rights.

This year, observers say, the groups showed more respect for each others' issues and a spirit of harmony prevailed.

Yet the new People's Alliance emerged encumbered with a program with far too many goals for even a tightly unified organization, let alone the loose coalition that the Alliance remains.

The program calls for support of the J.P. Stevens boycott and the ERA; active opposition to the Bakke "reverse discrimination" decision and to cities' master urban renewal plans such as Plan 21 in Chicago or Year 2000 in Washington, D.C. It commits the People's Alliance to working

for liberation for black Americans, independence for Puerto Rico and the rights of Native Americans. It pledges a fight against forced sterilization, persecution of undocumented workers and repression of gay people. And that's only half the program.

Priorities will be set by a newly elected national committee, that consists of 38 representatives from every sector of the alliance. "Choosing priorities will be a most delicate task," says Alvarez.

The committee is also working with the uncertain commitment of many of the groups to items of the program not already on their agendas.

Although many of the Alliance affiliates are national organizations, cooperation has not always extended to the local level. Whether the constituent groups can work together locally remains to be seen.

Glick reports a spirit of optimism prevailed at the Alliance's first national committee meeting, and predicts the Alliance will surmount the problems.

"The Alliance has the advantage that it is not built on air, but on the July 4 campaign and on work done since. It has proved it can mobilize tens of thousands of people. We see real possibilities of developing something good," adds Alvarez of the PSP.

For more information: People's Alliance, P.O. Box 998, Peter Stuyvesant Station, New York, NY 10009.

—Judy MacLean

Random Samples

Settling the Mayaguez

A potentially explosive case involving crew members of the *Mayaguez* who were "rescued" by President Ford and the U.S. Marines in the waning days of the Indochina War has been settled out of court.

Six *Mayaguez* crew members had sued Sea-Land Service, Inc., the ship's owners, for 413 million in damages, alleging that the original seizure of the ship by the Cambodians had been due to negligence on the part of the company and that the Cambodians had been well within their rights in seizing the ship.

The crewmen settled May 24 for \$258,000.

Still to be resolved is their suit seeking nearly \$2 million in damages from the federal government. The crewmen allege that the American government was negligent in failing to warn ships sailing in the area of other incidents and in bombing, strafing and gassing a Cambodian boat carrying the *Mayaguez* crew.

Where's Horatio Alger now?

College costs are skyrocketing. Tuition alone has risen 57.2 percent since 1970. At present inflation rates, it's estimated that a year in college could cost \$47,330 by the time a child born today enrolls. What ever happened to the possibility of working one's way through college?

A slow learner

The creator of the "Dick and Jane" readers says if she could do it all over again, she'd do it differently.

Elizabeth Rider Montgomery, who for four decades has written about the exploits of Dick, Jane, Sally and Spot, says she agrees that her books are sexist.

"If I were writing the books now, I'd have father washing dishes, or mother mowing the lawn. Better yet, both mother and father doing things together like fixing the car."

It's expensive to live

So you wondered why your budget is tight? The Labor department released figures in late April saying that an urban family of four needs a minimum of \$10,000 a year to maintain an "austere" standard of living. It takes \$16,236 for a "moderate" living standard and \$23,759 for one with "some luxuries."

Median family income in the U.S. is \$9800.

Oregon out of Southern Africa

By a margin of better than three to one, students at the University of Oregon voted in mid-May to ban recruiters from American corporations with investments in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia from the campus.

They voted four to one to demand that the State Board of Higher Education and the university's Development Fund divest themselves of all stock and holdings in corporations with investments in the three countries.

Millions of dollars in some 27 companies were the target of this nonbinding referendum. University officials have said that the matter is something that should be at and considered by the board of trustees.



So who can you trust?

Acting on the request of President Carter, Sen. Daniel Inouye overruled a 10-1 vote of the Senate Intelligence Committee and withheld a committee report on CIA activities in Micronesia, a U.S. protectorate. According to inside sources, the committee concluded that the CIA had sources inside the Micronesian government and had penetrated the internal political process there.

Meanwhile, it was reported that the FBI had at least 62 informants in the left-oriented Institute for Policy Studies in Washington during the course of a six-year investigation. Most of the information obtained was already publicly available.

Another report revealed that the CIA used as many as 16 agents a day to spy on columnist Jack Anderson and his staff in 1972 to determine the sources of his news

referendum the campus YWCA announced its intention to divest itself of IBM and Texaco stock.

You've come a long way Lester

Lester Maddox, who gained national fame and the governorship of the state of Georgia by opposing desegregation, has a new career. Having lost his last bid for elected office a few years ago, Maddox has taken to the nightclub circuit, with an integrated act.

Billed "The Governor and His Dishwasher," the act costars Maddox and Bobby Lee Fears, a black man who once washed dishes in Maddox's Atlanta restaurant. The two perform a variety of comedy and musical routines including simultaneous renditions of the "Star Spangled Banner" and "Dixie," as well as duets on "Moon River" and "When the Saints Go Marching In."

Security for unwed mothers

A company that fires a woman because she's pregnant and unmarried is guilty of sex discrimination, the Supreme Court ruled May 16. Rose M. Jacobs sued the Martin Sweets Company of Louisville, Ky., for her firing in 1972 when she was unwed and pregnant.

The ruling does not automatically prevent employers from firing pregnant unwed workers, but sets an important precedent that increases the probability that such a worker can sue and collect for sex discrimination.

articles.

Then there was the Chicago woman who discovered after reading FBI files released under the Freedom of Information Act that a Welcome Wagon representative reported her family background to the FBI in 1970.

Bad news for the bookworms. Rep. Don Edwards has been informed by the CIA that it will end covert funding of English language books as part of its propaganda operations. As of 1967 (ten years ago) the CIA had underwritten more than 1,000 books, about 250 of which were in English.

The *New York Times* recently awarded the CIA the "grand prize for euphemism" in an article on federal jargon. According to the *Times*, the CIA once referred to an assassination unit as a "health alteration committee."

Is rape normal?

A Madison, Wisc. group is working to recall Judge Archie Simonson who ruled May 25 that a 15-year-old boy's rape of a high school girl was a "normal" reaction to sexual permissiveness and women's clothing.

Dane County Citizens to Recall Judge Simonson, began circulating petitions in an effort to gather the 22,049 necessary for recall after the judge, citing advertisements, prostitution arrests, bars with nude dancing and young women who appear "even in court" wearing revealing clothing, gave the youth one year's probation.

"The community is well known to be sexually permissive," said Simonson. "Should we punish a 15 or 16-year-old boy who reacts normally?"

Meryl Manhardt, Assistant District Attorney in Madison, said Simonson expressed "a general male philosophy that the way a woman dresses provokes a sexual attack." She protested light treatment of "the most serious crime in the history of Madison's public schools."

A three-hour rally May 31 drew hundreds of protestors, including "a lot of men," according to a NOW spokeswoman. "We want to get across that rape is a crime of violence and power, not a normal response to certain kinds of dress," says Pam Pierson for the citizens' group.

The 15-year-old was charged with two other boys with second degree sexual assault for the rape in a high school stairwell last November. In March a 14-year-old accomplice was sent to a home for boys, and charges were dropped against the third boy.

At week's end Simonson was express-

ing regret that he had not consulted his transcript more carefully before commenting on the case, but no regret over the comments he made in court. He hired a lawyer and left for an unscheduled week's vacation. Meanwhile, the committee announced it had gathered one-third of the necessary signatures for recall in a week of petitioning.

Illinois scuttles ERA

The Illinois House of Representatives turned down the Equal Rights Amendment June 2, making its passage in that state this year extremely unlikely. A parliamentary maneuver by the ERA's sponsors avoided an official roll call, leaving consideration of the measure open for the remainder of the session. The unofficial vote tally was six votes short of the necessary three-fifths majority.

Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women (NOW), says the defeat is "an outrage, although it has been expected."

The ERA's chief House sponsor, Alan J. Greiman (D-Skokie) says he is "watching very carefully" for the right time to reintroduce the measure, but it probably won't be before the June 30 adjournment of the spring session.

Monopoly pays

According to Joe Cappel in the *Chicago Daily News* of May 17, a Harvard study has revealed that "profitability is directly related to market share." Some 57 corporations involved in 620 separate businesses were studied and the results were found to be:

Market Share	Return on Investment
under 7%	9.6%
7-14%	12.0%
14-22%	13.5%
22-36%	17.9%
over 36%	30.2%

Now who was it that says that monopoly—or more properly oligopoly—doesn't pay? (Fred Thompson)

Homosexuality causes drought

In an interview in *Miami* magazine anti-gay crusader Antia Bryant stated that there is evidence that God punishes civilizations that show tolerance for homosexuality. She noted that after the passage of a gay rights ordinance in a Southern California city (presumably Los Angeles) "now California is having its worst drought in history." When the *Miami* reporter asked her if there was a connection between the ordinance and the drought, she replied, "Absolutely."

She also widened her attacks on "crimes against nature" to include heterosexual women who engage in oral sexual activities. (Gay Community News)

Army found

Finally, for those who've always wondered: Archeologists digging in the sands 300 miles west of Cairo, Egypt, report that they have uncovered the skeletons of a complete army of Persian soldiers who invaded Egypt 2500 years ago only to vanish into thin air.

The scientists say the troops were apparently buried alive by a violent desert sandstorm. Thus ends the mystery of King Cambyses, The Second of Persia and his army.

—Compiled by Doyle Mannan

IN THE WORLD

U.S./SOUTH KOREA

Korea scandal may sink top U.S. envoy

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The same man President Carter sent to Seoul to consult with South Korean president Park Chung Hee on American troop withdrawals may have been deeply involved in the South Korean bribery scandals that shook Washington last year.

According to a former intelligence operative who maintains close CIA ties, Philip C. Habib, Undersecretary of State in the Ford and the Carter administrations, was present at meetings at South Korea's presidential palace (the Blue House) where President Park, lobbyist extraordinaire Tongsun Park, and other close aides discussed an overall plan to win friends for Seoul in the U.S. The plan was designed as a covert diplomatic campaign to build support for South Korea in Congress and among key academics just as plans were being discussed for a possible American troop withdrawal.

Habib's role, according to the source, has been preserved on tapes recorded by American intelligence, which bugged the Blue House. Habib's attitude was a flat-out, "Let's go to it," the source says.

Habib's alleged participation in the Korean scheme, the source says, has touched off a massive struggle inside the highest diplomatic and intelligence circles

in Washington.

"The stakes are high," said one source. "Because of the involvement of so many agencies, everyone has a stake in keeping the lid on." But according to the source, "There's a young guy in the CIA rattling those tapes and trying to force Habib to come clean. They are very, very—and I can't emphasize this enough—very concerned about this thing. Habib is caught and he knows it. But he's ready to go to the mat over it. Henry Kissinger ordered him to do it and he's ready to say so if he's forced."

The State department has not commented on the allegations.

It is unclear whether the present investigations in the House Ethics Committee or the House Subcommittee on International Organizations will touch on Habib's role. The Ethics Committee has a lackluster record in previous investigations and is reportedly willing to turn over the investigation to the Internal Revenue Service.

So far, American government investigations have not gotten off the ground.

Last year when the South Korean bribery scandal was beginning to heat up, Donald Ranard, the head of the State Department's Korea Desk, pressed his im-



American Undersecretary of State Philip C. Habib shakes hands with the Japanese Foreign Minister Ichiro Hatoyama on stopover with Gen. George Brown prior to their visit to South Korea last week.

mediate superior to do something about it. His superior was none other than Habib, then Ford's Undersecretary for Asian Affairs.

"We were having a discussion about the Koreans one day," Ranard recalled in an interview, "and Phil was romping up and down the room complaining about these Koreans and their money and the congressmen and so forth. And so I said, 'Well, do something about it. I've tried and haven't gotten anywhere. You're the one with the presidential portfolio.

Go to the White House and tell the President that this is an intolerable situation and you want it stopped."

Ranard paused. "I never heard anything about it again."

Jeffrey Stein is a Washington-based journalist who writes regularly for the Christian Science Monitor, Far Eastern Economic Review and other publications. A former U.S. Army intelligence officer in Vietnam, he is currently working on a study of U.S./Korean relations at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY

US lets down 3rd World at Paris talks

In his May 22 speech at Notre Dame, President Jimmy Carter warned that "we can no longer have a foreign policy solely for the industrial nations we must respond to the new reality of a politically awakening world." He promised that the U.S. would present "constructive proposals for the forthcoming meeting on North/South problems of poverty, development, and global well-being."

He was referring to the Paris meeting of the Conference on International Economic Cooperation and Development, which brought together 19 Third World nations and the industrial capitalist nations.

At the final session last week Secretary of State Cyrus Vance reiterated Carter's commitment. "There should be a new international system," Vance said. "In that system there must be equity; there must be growth; but above all there must be justice. We are prepared to help build that system."

If the Paris talks are any indication of the depth of American commitment to a "New International Economic Order," the results are shallow indeed. Vance used an offer of \$375 million in emergency aid to the "poor nations" to counterbalance the refusal of the U.S. to support the substance of Third World demands. These center on the creation of a "common fund" to eliminate sharp drops in raw material prices and a moratorium on rising Third World debts.

The final statement of the conference expressed the lack of consensus between the industrial capitalist countries, led by the U.S., and the Third World nations. While agreeing that a common fund could be a "key instrument" for attaining stable raw material prices, the conference failed to agree on the specifics of a proposal. "It is a masterpiece of language," one West-

The Third World countries want relief from their soaring debts.

ern delegate said. On the crucial issue of debt relief, there was not even an agreement "in principle."

International collective bargaining.

What the Third World countries wanted from the Paris meeting is a buffer for the 17 basic agricultural and mineral commodities that make up 80 percent of the exports of the underdeveloped world. They want protection against the price fluctuations that wreak havoc on their economies—fluctuations that are in large measure determined by the buyers who continually play one country against another for better terms of trade and lower prices. While buyers control the market of raw materials and beat down prices, the same people, now sellers, control the markets for finished industrial goods. The underdeveloped countries are forced to sell cheap and buy high.

To protect themselves from this uneven and dependent treatment, the Third World nations have proposed a \$6 billion fund to support basic commodity prices through a stockpiling scheme. In times of glut, the fund would buy up commodities, which they would then throw back on the market in times of scarcity.

In addition, the Third World nations would like to link the prices of basic commodities to the prices of finished industrial goods, since the prices of finished goods tend to rise much faster than prices of raw materials. These two proposals are attempts to introduce international collective bargaining as a solution to the poor countries' deteriorating economic condition.

The best index of this deteriorating condition is the increasing debt that these countries face, both in terms of their balance of payments and their repayments on direct development loans. In the 1960s the collective annual debt of the Third World countries stayed relatively stable at around \$12 billion. But by the end of 1976, they owed nearly \$50 billion to private banks and international lending institutions and their balance of payments deficits threatened to bankrupt more than one country.

One American government official said that the heavy debts incurred by Third World nations "prevent the recession of the mid-'70s from being another 1930s depression." By borrowing huge sums from industrial capitalist countries and spending them on imports, they had cushioned the recession. But many American officials now feel that the size of the debts have gotten out of hand and threaten the stability of the international economy.

At the Paris conference, the Third World nations demanded that a debt moratorium be arranged for the indebted nations. Repayments to private banks and international lending agencies—the IMF and World Bank—would be rescheduled or cancelled.

But the industrial nations insisted that any commodity buffer arrangement or debt moratorium be made on a case-by-case basis. They refused to deal with the demands collectively, where the Third World nations would wield more power.

They offered \$1 billion in additional foreign aid, with the U.S. kicking in \$375 million, but proposed no general

plan nor any concrete solutions. The lack of any concrete alternatives for the underdeveloped countries is due in part to the lack of agreement among competing industrialized nations and to particular capitalists' divergent interests within each state.

Soviets asked to participate.

The Paris conference was only part of continuing talks between the capitalist countries and the Third World. Many of the issues discussed there will come up again when the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development reconvenes in Geneva this November.

The U.S. had wanted to continue the Paris talks themselves as a way of continuing the discussions on energy. The U.S. and other industrial capitalist countries had wanted to use the talks to pressure the OPEC countries into concessions on prices. But Third World countries joined OPEC in refusing to extend the Paris talks.

The U.S. also proposed that the Soviet Union be included in future North/South discussions. But the Soviets have so far refused to participate. They reject the concept of a "North/South" division between industrialized and industrializing countries, arguing that it obscures the legacy of colonialism and the persistence of chronic underdevelopment. They maintain instead that "there are capitalist industrial states, socialist states, and developing states."

But it is reported that Third World countries are now also pressuring the Soviet Union and its allies to join the North/South talks. Countries like Egypt with large debts to the Soviet Union resent the Soviet insistence that the world economic disarray is the sole consequence of the industrialized capitalist countries.

SOUTHEAST PACIFIC



The president of FRETILIN, Francisco Xavier de Amaral, with vice-president, Nicolau Lobato.

East Timor fights for its life in an unreported bloody war

A bloody war is being fought on the Southeast Asian island of Timor, but few Americans know about it. The Indonesian military, which invaded the infant Democratic Republic of East Timor on Dec. 7, 1975, controls all access to the island and controls all communications but one radio transmitter operated by FRETILIN, the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor.

This April the Indonesians carefully staged whirlwind tours of their section of the island to convince Congresswoman Helen Meyner (D-N.J.) and Congressman Bill Goodling (R-Pa.) that their forces have pacified the island, but the fighting continues. FRETILIN, though isolated geographically, is a powerful military force that controls as much as 85 percent of the island.

East Timor is a former Portuguese colony, covering the northeastern half of the Lesser Sunda Archipelago island of Timor. All other islands in the area are part of Indonesia, because the Dutch controlled them. Before the fighting began, there were about 650,000 people living in the 7,400 square mile nation. The largest city, Dili—the capitol—held only 50,000. The rest of the people resided in small towns and villages, conducting subsistence agriculture or working on coffee plantations. Very few Timorese were educated—in fact, very few spoke the official language, Portuguese. Most spoke tribal languages or the *lingua franca*, Tetum.

End of the African revolution: The revolutionary wave that swept Portuguese Africa missed Timor. Only the Armed Forces Movement staged a "Coup" in April 1974 did not begin.

It was followed by the left-wing FRETILIN, the conservative Timorese Democratic Union, consisting primarily of teachers, plantation workers and other civil servants, staged a coup.

In August 1975, using its control of the

police force, FRETILIN, however, was able to rally to its side the 3,000-strong militia—the Portuguese had practiced universal military training—and it soon gained control over the entire country.

Though FRETILIN was by no means ideologically Marxist, it was the furthest left of the three main parties. It had sponsored literacy and other social programs in its organizing drive, supported independence, and organized colonial employees for higher wages.

News blockade.

Indonesia decided not to tolerate FRETILIN rule. A FRETILIN-led government could symbolize an alternative to Javanese rule for Indonesia's national minorities (such as the Papuans, West Timorese, or Moluccans) and an alternative to reactionary military rule to survivors from the huge left-wing parties that operated in Indonesia before the 1965-66 coup.

As early as October 1975 Indonesia sent irregular infantrymen across the border from West Timore. The Indonesians were repulsed, but FRETILIN was concerned

that Portugal had virtually ignored Indonesian action. FRETILIN decided that it could gather more diplomatic support—especially at the UN—if it declared independence, so it did so on Nov. 28, 1975.

On Dec. 7, 1975, within 24 hours after a visit to Indonesia by President Ford and Henry Kissinger, Indonesia launched an air, land, and sea invasion of East Timor. In their first drive, the Indonesians slaughtered as many as 60,000 Timorese civilians, particularly ethnic Chinese—many of whom welcomed the Indonesians.

The Indonesian military controlled all news of the fighting, feeding information to foreign reporters in Jakarta, the Indonesian capital. Now foreign journalists are sometimes allowed into Indonesian secured sections of East Timor, but their movements and contacts are carefully controlled.

Outside of informal reports from Indonesians who have been to East Timor, the only leak in the news blockade has been a radio transmitter operated by FRETILIN and monitored by supporters in Australia.

Broken Dutch promise sparks South Moluccan school seizure

Two heavily armed groups of South Moluccans seized a Dutch school and hijacked a train capturing 161 schoolchildren, teachers and travelers. They demanded that the Dutch government secede from Indonesia and release 21 South Moluccans imprisoned for seizing a Dutch consulate and a train in December 1975.

The school in Boyen, where the children were being held, promised to be released, but Dutch officials are negotiating for the release of the school and 50 people captured on the train.

The South Moluccans' homeland, a group of islands east of Indonesia, has

been dominated in turn by the Arabs, Portuguese, Dutch, British, Japanese and Indonesians. Some of the 40,000 Moluccans living in the Netherlands came there after having fought in the Dutch army in World War II. Some 12,000 others were forcibly relocated there after an abortive revolution from Indonesia in 1950.

The Dutch promised the South Moluccans that they would someday return. But the tide that brought South Moluccans to Dutch shores dried up with the withdrawal of Dutch colonialism from the Far East, and the South Moluccans have become stranded in a country not their own, caught between a colonial past and an independent future.

Ready-made people's war.

FRETILIN's quick guerrilla mobilization may be the fastest growth of "people's war" on record. Soon after its formation, FRETILIN had built its strength in rural areas through social, health, and literacy programs. When it won the allegiance of the 3,000-strong full-time militia and most of the 27,000 reserves, it gathered the military force necessary to combat the Indonesian expeditionary force. As the Portuguese withdrew, left-leaning military officials let Portuguese stocks and arsenals fall into FRETILIN hands.

The Indonesian forces included 30,000 to 40,000 troops, chiefly from elite units at first. They were armed primarily with American weapons, which included helicopters and OV-10 "Bronco" counterinsurgency aircraft. Though the Indonesians dominated the coasts—with their Navy of decommissioned American ships—and the air, they lacked motivation to fight. In addition, the job of reinforcing and resupplying the invading force proved difficult and costly. (During the December 1975 invasion the Indonesians impressed civilian aircraft for military transport.)

The Indonesians drove many initially anti-FRETILIN Timorese into the liberation struggle by executing Timorese wantonly, wiping out whole villages in cases. The Indonesians blame the excesses on a few poorly disciplined battalions, but FRETILIN reports continuing, widespread brutality. However, it also reports that some Indonesian troops have established unofficial front-line truces and a few have even begun fighting for FRETILIN.

After nearly a year and a half of combat, the military situation seems to have stalemated. FRETILIN is fighting a classic guerrilla struggle, controlling most of the countryside and mounting attacks on the Indonesian garrisons and supply columns. Estimates vary, but the most educated say that FRETILIN controls 85 percent of the territory, where 80 percent of the 600,000 surviving Timorese live, while the Indonesians control the largest towns, including Dili and Baucau. One report within the Indonesian government says that only eight of East Timor's 22 districts are safe.

Indonesian stability shaken.

Given FRETILIN's resourcefulness and Indonesia's resources, the conflict could go on for many years. There are three things which could shift the balance. First, the precarious coalition of technocrats, crooks and soldiers that governs Indonesia could fall apart. The war has been costly—Indonesia has spent as much as \$150 million on the fighting and between 5,000 and 20,000 soldiers have died. Occurring at the same time as the bankruptcy of Pertamina, the Indonesian state-owned oil company, the Timor war has destabilized the Indonesian government.

Second, the American Congress could cut off military aid to Indonesia because of its human right record. Opponents of aid have not only pointed out Indonesian brutality in Timor, but they have documented the continuing imprisonment, without trial, of somewhere between 35,000 and 100,000 opponents of the military regime over the last 11 years.

Third, outside governments may provide FRETILIN with the equipment and supplies it needs to mount full-scale, conventional attacks on Indonesian positions. FRETILIN leaders who left the country just before the Indonesian invasion have developed especially close ties with the former Portuguese colonies of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola, as well as the Asian revolutionary regimes in China, Vietnam and Cambodia.

None of these three scenarios is in the immediate future, but each has something to give. FRETILIN, to feed, clothe, and arm its guerrillas in the countryside of a poor colony, must operate in a subsistence mode. The people have few material resources on its side.

Lenny Siegel is the director of the Pacific Studies Center in Palo Alto, Calif.

WEST GERMANY

Arms issue widens Social Democrat rift

The Social Democrats forbade their members to attend the disarmament rallies. But many members defied the ban.

By Brigitte Kirch
and Bill Hansen

FRANKFURT, WEST GERMANY—A petition campaign and nationwide series of demonstrations urging greater East/West cooperation leading to disarmament is widening the divisions within West Germany's ruling Social Democratic party (SPD).

The Committee for Peace, Disarmament and Cooperation has been circulating a petition urging greater action on the part of the West German government in support of what is variously called détente, *Ostpolitik*, or the "Helsinki spirit."

The petition campaign culminated on Saturday, May 22, with four rallies in widely separated German cities ranging from Munich in the far south, to Frankfurt, the Ruhr city of Essen, and the North Sea port city of Bremen.

According to official police estimates 37,000 people participated in the rallies. The Committee for Peace announced that 68,000 took part. Signers of the petition and supporters of the demonstrations included widely renowned theologian Martin Niemöller, actress Senta Berger, and author Dr. Erika Runge. A wide range of sponsors included SPD members, workers organizations, student and church groups and the West German Communist party (DKP).



For over two decades the SPD has absolutely refused to have anything at all to do with West Germany's Communist party. Chancellor Helmut Schmidt announced only days before the rallies that any SPD member who was even in attendance, let alone spoke, would be summarily expelled from the party.

The announcement prompted scores of people to show up at the rallies wearing masks or hoods with signs around their necks proclaiming, "I'm an SPD member." Known SPD functionaries were observed wandering through the crowds taking names and photographs.

In response to a telephone query the SPD's press information office in Bonn said that the party presidium would be meeting to decide on what they were going to do regarding those members who had defied their orders.

The main speaker at the Frankfurt rally was Darmstadt University economics professor Dr. Gerhard Kade. Kade, a prominent SPD member, criticized the party's attempt to curb the freedom of expression of its members.

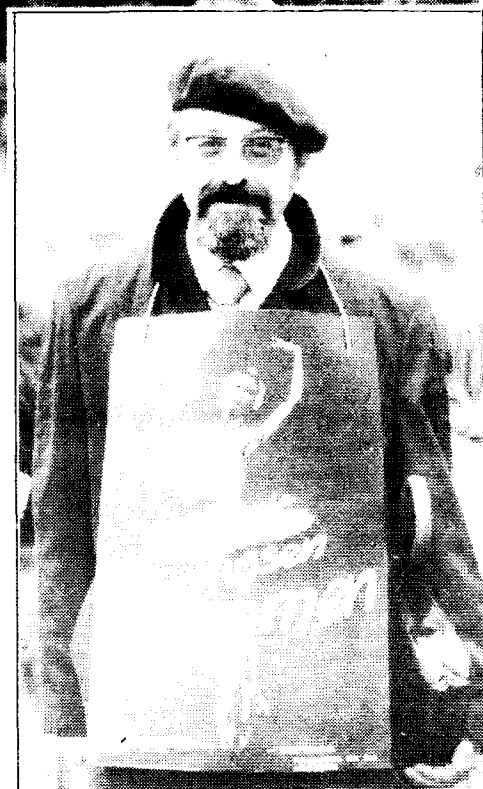
Kade also echoed the sponsoring Peace Committee's demands in calling for an end to increases in the defense budget, abandonment of all new defense projects, a concerted effort by the German government to help reach a new and more comprehensive arms limitation agreement, and the reduction of all West German armaments by at least ten percent.

Kade blamed the armaments industry for the failure of the SALT talks. He noted that between 1970 and 1976 West Germany had increased its weapon expenditures by 172.4 percent while the increase for NATO as a whole was 150 percent and for the U.S. 128 percent. He then commented, "Once again we in the Federal Republic have to be ahead of everyone else. Since the beginning of the Federal Republic," he added, "every family has donated almost 50,000 marks to the altar of armaments."

Kade also disputed the oft-heard claim here in Germany that a reduction in defense spending would cost thousands of jobs. He said that just five of the 322 new bombers that Defense Minister Georg Leber wants to purchase would pay the salaries of ten thousand school teachers for a year. Widespread unemployment among teachers accompanied by often grossly overcrowded classrooms is another political issue here.

In Munich, theologian Martin Niemöller, who spent eight years in a Nazi concentration camp, called for an end to the arms race and attacked the SPD's anti-Communism. "So the Communists want peace," Niemöller said. "Thank God if the Communists want peace."

The youth wing of the Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, the German counterpart



Photos by Bill Hansen

(Above left) The speakers platform at the Frankfurt rally. "Beendet das Wettrüsten" is translated as "End the arms race."

(Above) Pastor H. Oeffler, well known Protestant clergyman, at the Frankfurt rally.

to the AFL-CIO, passed a resolution at its convention that weekend supporting the demonstrations and declaring that "blind anti-Communism is, and has been, beneficial only to the reactionaries in our country."

Fear of war on German soil.

Many Germans, with the memories of the last war still vividly on their minds, feel very strongly that if war does break out between NATO and Warsaw Pact armies it will be fought primarily on German soil.

In the 1950s there was a very strong movement against re-armament, the creation of a new German army and membership in NATO which, for a short time, was supported by the SPD.

Now Germans feel trapped between the great power interests of the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik* won the support of most Germans and the "Iron Curtain" seemed to have lost much of its threatening nature. The tens of thousands who participated in last week's rallies professed their belief that peace, disarmament, and cooperation among all European nations will and must become a reality.

Brigitte Kirch and Bill Hansen write regularly on West German politics for *In These Times*.

A Marxist Social Democrat favors ties with Communists

Professor Gerhard Kade plans to fight any attempt by the Social Democratic party to expel him. He told *IN THESE TIMES* that the SPD's frantic attack against the peace demonstrations had little to do with the demands of the demonstrators. The party was using the incident to excise its left-wing.

According to Kade, the SPD knows that to forbid its membership from even attending the rallies is waving a red flag in the face of its left wing—particularly its youth organization, the JUSOs. Any leftwing Young Socialist would then make it a matter of principle to appear at such rallies.

The SPD recently expelled the Marxist president of the JUSOs three weeks after his election for advocating greater SPD cooperation with the Communist

party.

Kade, who describes himself as a Marxist-Leninist, explained that he works with the SPD because it is the only way a person with his views can affect the political process in West Germany. To be outside the SPD is to isolate oneself completely.

Kade feels that once the SPD falls from power the left will begin to influence it.

Kade favors SPD cooperation with the Communist party whose present orthodox views he attributes mainly to its isolation. With a willingness to cooperate on the part of the SPD, Kade expects that the Communists will enter the electoral arena and soften their line in the direction of "Eurocommunism."

Brigitte Kirch and Bill Hansen



Photos by Jim Webb

Flood and relief equally disastrous

The people of Appalachia remain in shock

WILLIAMSON, W.VA.—In the little county seat that calls itself “The Heart of the Billion Dollar Coalfield,” the ruined contents of a two-story frame house spill out onto the porch. A mud-covered pickup truck parked in front sports a shiny new sticker: Outlaw Strip Mining.

The Tug River is back in its banks now, more than a month after it raged through the narrow valley here on the West Virginia/Kentucky border. But its presence is still felt.

Broken houses along the river bank lie yards from their foundations. High water marks are visible on the second stories of houses here in Mingo County. Hosing down sidewalks turns the dust to slick river mud again. Ruined automobiles towed from the downtown business district line one end of the city.

And residents, stunned by the worst flood in their history, have begun to pick up the pieces and gear up for what some call “the second disaster”—government response.

The Tug River Valley, lying in the steep mountains of the Southern Appalachians, is no stranger to flooding. But no one was prepared for



the fury with which the river left its banks the night of April 4.

“I’ve seen water back up that creek every year, all my life, but nothing like this,” said a resident of Chattaroy hollow, just outside Williamson. “It was like a tidal wave. It tore things up just as far as it went. Now normal backwater raises slow, and it doesn’t move—it’s still. This wasn’t like that. It was just like the river turned, and come the other way.”

After two days of slow, steady spring rain, there didn’t appear to be much cause for alarm, particularly for people in Williamson, protected by a 44-foot floodwall. But the rapid rise of the river in the late hours of April 4 and reports of heavy damage upstream prompted enough concern that storeowners began moving their goods to second floors. When water began pouring over the floodwall about 2:30 a.m., it rapidly filled the low-lying access roads to the city, trapping many people in the upper stories of buildings until they could be rescued by boat the following day.

At dawn, more than 20 feet of water stood in the lowest portion of the downtown area. Outlying residential sections of the city were completely under water. Electricity was knocked out, and the local radio station had lost its power supply. The town of Matewan a few miles upriver was destroyed. By the time the water receded the following day, six inches of mud covered everything.

Chaos after the flood.

Most residents believe that destruction of the watershed by strip mining and clear-cutting account for the force of the flood. Areas hardest hit by flooding in West Virginia, Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee (Williamson was only one such community) were those that had been extensively stripped. Rain washed directly off the stripped hills into waterways that have for years been filling up with sediment from strip mined mountains.

And residents know it will happen again. “People are beginning to realize that if strip mining is not abolished, if the river is not dredged, if this destruction of the land is not stopped, then this community is vulnerable again and again,” said one woman.

The days following the flood were chaotic, marked by a lack of coordination among the first groups on the scene: the National Guard, Red Cross and state police.

The Tug Valley Recovery Center, Inc.

ganized by dozens of citizens in a local church, opened with a 24-hour hot meal program, shelter for flood victims, medical assistance, and distribution of clothes, groceries and cleaning supplies. But it soon ran into difficulties: the state police refused to recognize the legitimacy of the TVRC and blocked its allocations for a time.

The county was not declared a federal disaster area for several days after the flood, and it was nearly a week later that the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration opened its first "one-stop" center. Staffed by workers hastily drafted for the job and insufficiently trained in the complexities of the available federal relief programs, it offered a kind of hit-or-miss help and left many questions unanswered.

Housing the immediate need.

For residents trying to make some sense out of the area's new disaster status, however, the focus quickly became housing.

It was clear from the start that HUD's pre-planned disaster program—developing emergency and then temporary group trailer sites—was not tailored to fit the topography, the land ownership pattern, or the needs of the people.

Flood victims feared "another Buffalo Creek," remembering the disastrous process of poor planning and broken promises that followed the 1972 flood in nearby Logan County. Relief efforts after that flood crowded victims willy nilly into trailer parks, separating them from their neighbors. Five years later, some are still in trailers.

HUD should change its policies, Mingo County citizens argued, to allow emergency campers or temporary mobile homes to be placed on homeowners' sites while houses were being repaired or rebuilt.

HUD officials agreed to a policy change—but failed to implement it in the month after the flood. Instead, residents were placed at three emergency camper parks—one at a state campground in an isolated part of the county miles away from their homes.

Even that process took weeks. By the end of April only 48 families out of an estimated 1,800 who needed housing were in campers. Others were living at schools, with family or friends, or in the cars in which they had fled the night of the flood. Announcement of a visit by HUD Secretary Patricia Harris and promises of speedy housing by U.S. Senators Robert C. Byrd and Jennings Randolph prompted a scramble to get more families into the 18-foot campers, and by May 3 there were more than 200 housed.

Many ineligible for help.

Meanwhile, two and a half miles of more spacious mobile homes lined a highway near Williamson, parked on the shoulder. The reason, said HUD, was not enough contractors to drive the units to areas where they were needed.

For flood victims faced with repairing or rebuilding, it was soon apparent that the maze of federal programs was not only insufficient, it left a number of low-income people indigible.

HUD's mini repair program would provide up to \$6,400 to make homes livable and restore water and sewage. But for a person whose home was damaged more extensively and whose income level was too low for a Small Business Administration rebuilding loan at 6.3 percent—there was little help. Neither the mini repair grant nor a special \$5,000 FDAA grant to replace furnishings could be used to offset the amount of the SBA loan. Farmers Home Administration, which has special programs for rural areas at lower interest rates, would not offer assistance because SBA was the designated loan program under FDAA.

Quirks in the programs further ired flood victims. Because of the season, HUD said grant money could not be used for furnace repair. But without furnaces, there was no way to dry out watersoaked homes.

The jumbled relief effort added to the burden of people trying to cope with the shock of losing their homes.

"If you could ever get these federal people and state people to give you a straight and honest answer—regardless of what

it is—then people might be able to plan a little bit," sighed Silvia Walker of Chat-taroy. She and her husband and son lost the home they finally managed to buy two years ago and had spent all their energies rebuilding.

"It wasn't much when we bought it—people thought we couldn't do a thing with it, it was that bad. But we've done a lot to it. You would really have to be in my shoes to know the depth of the feeling," she said.

Walker thinks her neighbors at the camper park on the Williamson ballfield are also in shock. "Some of these people that's in this camp I've known all my life, and I see a difference in them. Some of them are just like strangers, compared to what they're really like—just like a whole new person."

Got to get off flood plain.

While residents wrestle with new lives on a floodplain, the high, dry corporate land—78 percent of the county's total acreage—lies untouched. Permanent housing off the floodplain requires getting hold of some of that land. It could be done by state or county condemnation.

The vast majority of land in Mingo County, as in most mountain counties in the Appalachian coal fields, is owned by out-of-state corporations. In Mingo, total absentee-owned land is near 80 percent of the surface, with the four largest owners being Georgia-Pacific (20.8 percent), Island Creek Coal (16.8 percent), Cotiga Development (14.4 percent) and U.S. Steel (13.4 percent).

In the land where the corporation is king, it will not be an easy task. But it would be an important precedent in southern West Virginia, where a critical housing shortage—a need for 40,000 units in Mingo and surrounding counties—existed prior to the flood.

Tug Valley Recovery Center organizers were encouraged by the county's agreement to form a Public Housing Authority to which condemned land could be turned over, and by the county's recent move to condemn coal company property for a landfill during clean-up operations.

Shutting down the mines.

With increased emphasis on coal production as key to the nation's energy policy, citizens of Mingo County have a valuable weapon at hand.

They wielded it briefly when they organized a one-day work stoppage three weeks after the flood to draw attention to their demands for lower interest rates. They picketed area coal operations and idled close to 30,000 miners, as well as those Williamson businesses that had managed to re-open. Miners strongly supported the action.

That work stoppage also drew the support of much of the area's business community, which rallied around the notion of lowered interest rates. As the Tug Valley Recovery Center's activities became increasingly political—particularly in regard to strip mining—some of that support has fallen away. The local Chamber of Commerce, which initially supported the center has now attacked it. But center organizers are convinced that some of the smaller businesspersons—educated by their mud-covered floors—will remain sympathetic to their efforts.

Lee Stevens, born and raised in Matewan, saw televised accounts of the flood while he was living in Nashville. He rushed back home. "I couldn't believe it," he said. "The house I'd lived in wasn't even there, the house next to it wasn't there—everybody's house was gone."

He took his grandfather, an 87-year-old former UMWA organizer who lives near Matewan, to view the damage. "He got out of the car and looked around and he said, 'People haven't seen this kind of destruction—they've never seen anything like this around here.' He said, 'Coal brought these people to this area, and coal's taking them away.'"

"People's whole lives were washed down that river," added Stevens, "not just their homes. And nobody's gonna do a damn thing. As long as that coal rolls out of here, they're not gonna do anything."

Deborah Barker is a freelance reporter in West Virginia.

Buffalo Creek set the pattern

ON FEBRUARY 26, 1972, in Logan County, West Virginia, a coal waste dam burst apart, unleashing a million tons of coal waste and 132 million gallons of water on the valley below. A 20-acre lake of coal sludge and water tore through Buffalo Creek's 17-mile valley, killing 125 people, injuring 1,100 more and leaving 4,000 people homeless in 16 communities. Property damage was estimated at over \$50 million.

Yale University sociologist Kai Erikson's book *Everything In Its Path* does a remarkable job describing the effects of this man-made catastrophe. Hired by the law firm of Arnold and Porter to document the emotional costs of the flood, Erikson had the opportunity for lengthy involvement with the survivors.

He lets people speak for themselves about "the human wreckage" and the destruction of community along Buffalo Creek. Many survivors continue to feel numbed: "I feel dead now. I have no energy. I set down and I feel numb."

Some describe the faces of death they carry in their daydreams and nightmares—"...an advance look at Hell"—while others are plagued with guilt for their own survival.

And there are the scarred children, whose fears have a lifetime to play themselves out: "My little girl, she wakes up every night and all you can do is sit and hold her, just hold her in your arms until she hushes screaming—not crying, screaming—"The water's going to get us, Mommy, the water's going to get us."

The destruction of community.

When tragedy and death hit people, it is assumed that "time heals the wounds." Research on disasters tends to confirm this. But on Buffalo Creek Erikson's reports that years later the scars remain.

The persistence of suffering reflects the uniqueness of the Buffalo Creek tragedy. The flood was more than a sudden blow to the residents. It also meant the permanent end of a way of life.

Erikson's greatest contribution is in showing that people are unable to heal themselves when their communities are destroyed.

It is also to Erikson's credit that he calls attention to the second disaster on Buffalo Creek, the replacement of communities with trailer parks that have come to resemble concentration camps.

These trailer camps, where many still live, were set up for emergency housing after the flood, but they actually made adjustment problems worse. People suddenly found themselves assigned to large camps where they did not know anyone. Relatives who had lived near each other for years were spread up and down the creek. Lifetime neighbors were miles apart.

Many people in these camps have been unable to re-establish close personal relationships with new neighbors. Even ties within families have been strained to a breaking point.

In Erikson's words, these trailer camps "served to stabilize one of the worst forms of disorganization resulting from the disaster by catching people in a moment of extreme dislocation and freezing them there in a kind of holding pattern."

In the words of a survivor, life in these

crowded camps "is like being all alone in the middle of a desert."

A third disaster...

Erikson's book makes a significant contribution to the study of the emotional and social effects of disasters. But as a study of the Appalachian people and culture, his book is undoubtedly a disaster. Erikson accepts a stereotyped view of life in the mountains before the coming of the coal industry. He adapts popular fictional accounts of Appalachia to explain a lifestyle unfamiliar to his middle-class sensibilities.

But Logan County is not an arrested frontier, or the home of "yesterday's people." It is a densely populated industrial region. He would do better to look at the actual array of economic and political forces at work in the area.

It is time that a book on the Buffalo Creek flood should appear this spring because once again the relationship of people, land, and industry has come dramatically to the public eye. Thousands of families have been left homeless in recent months as rivers and creeks surged over their banks and flooded the small towns, coal camps and county seats of the Appalachian area.

In Mingo County, W. Va., the town of Williamson was almost totally wiped out as flood waters crested 60 feet above flood stage.

Mingo County residents, learning from the experience of Buffalo Creek, formed a "Victims' Committee" when they realized that federal disaster relief and rehousing efforts were only adding to their problems. They circulated a statement throughout the Tug River Valley charging, "The government of the State of West Virginia and the federal department of Housing and Urban Development are well aware of the tragic mistakes made in trying to house victims of the Buffalo Creek disaster. We must not make those mistakes again."

Dwight Billings teaches sociology at the University of Kentucky where Sally Ward Maggard is a Rockefeller Fellow. A version of this review appeared in *Mountain Life & Work* magazine (Clintwood, Va.) whose May issue gives extensive coverage to the spring flooding.

Everything In Its Path: Destruction of Community in the Buffalo Creek Flood
By Kai T. Erikson
Simon & Schuster, 1976, \$8.95

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial



Bring the FBI and CIA within the law

In 1908, when Theodore Roosevelt's Attorney-General, Charles I. Bonaparte (Napoleon I's grandnephew) appealed to Congress to establish a permanent detective bureau within the Justice department, he was turned down cold. Rep. Walter I. Smith (R-Iowa) opposed the creation of such a bureau on the ground that a democratic country like the U.S. needed "no general system of spying upon and espionage of the people such as prevailed in Russia [under the Czar], in France under the Empire, and at one time in Ireland." To make its intentions absolutely clear, Congress then passed a law specifically forbidding the Justice department to borrow any additional detectives from the Secret Service or from other federal agencies.

Nonetheless, acting under Roosevelt's direction, Bonaparte waited until Congress adjourned and the members went home, and then on his own authority established a Bureau of Investigation within the Justice department. And that's how the FBI was born (though it did not become the Federal Bureau of Investigation until 1935, under the second Roosevelt). From its inception the Bureau of Investigation solved few real crimes but served as a political police.

In 1908 congressional opponents of the Bureau charged that its agents were spying on them and opening their mail. President Roosevelt righteously denied the outrage-

ous charges, saying that the agents whose duty it was to uphold the law would never violate it. But, Roosevelt added, "sometimes through the accidental breaking of [a mailed] package the contents are exposed." He then published some of the private letters of Sen. Benjamin R. Tillman (D-S.C.), one of the new Bureau's principal opponents.

- In 1910 when the Mann Act—prohibiting the transportation of women across state lines for immoral purposes—was passed, the bureau seized on the opportunity to establish itself in the public's esteem. Yet the bureau's first big case did not involve organized prostitution at all. Instead, it arrested and won a conviction against Jack Johnson, the black world heavyweight champion, who had crossed a state line with his white wife before they were married.

- In 1919, when the Socialist Party of America was splintering, a federal judge found that "government spies were active and influential in" the breakaway Communist parties. These "spies constituted in December 1919 an active and efficient part of the Communist party."

And so it has gone up to the present. Both the FBI and, since World War II, the CIA have been involved in illegal activities designed to deny American citizens their constitutional rights of free speech, equal protection under the law and privacy, which is not to mention

CIA subversion of the legal and democratic rights of governments and individuals in foreign countries.

Over the years both agencies have steadily accumulated power and have acted with greater and greater impunity.

The FBI's COINTELPRO (Counter-intelligence Program) has systematically used agents, provocateurs, forgery, character assassination, anonymous threats and pressure on employers against "subversives."

These tactics have been used against the traditional left, for example in robberies of Socialist Workers party offices and in provocations against the Black Panther party, against civil rights leaders, most notably in J. Edgar Hoover's vendetta against Martin Luther King Jr., against union organizing and even against liberal members of Congress.

The left has long been cognizant of these activities and has long protested them. But in recent years the extent of FBI and CIA anti-democratic and illegal activities has been so great that liberals and the media as well have turned their attention to them.

Candidate Jekyl, meet President Hyde

Early last month Sen. George McGovern arraigned the Carter administration for adopting "Republican economics," in violation of the Democratic party's 1976 platform and of Carter's own campaign promises. A few days later Pierre Rinfret, "the unreconstructed free market economist," as the *Wall Street Journal* calls him, made a judgment similar to McGovern's. He praised Carter as a "conservative Southern Democrat, or even possibly a liberal Republican."

An advisor to Nixon, consultant to some of the largest American corporations, and anointed oracle of Wall Street, Rinfret recalls that as a candidate, Jimmy the Baptist "frightened us." He appeared to be "to the left of Hubert Humphrey." But since his ascension to the office on high, "our perception of Carter has changed materially...there are very critical differences between what Carter said as a candidate and what he and his people are doing."

Rinfret points out that though in the campaign Carter "talked about increasing welfare and cutting back defense spending," nevertheless since his election "there hasn't been a single new spending proposal.... He hasn't moved to spend all the money that was budgeted," he has deferred "immediate action" on welfare, "and he has pressed for more defense money."

Jekyl and Hyde.

It may be that in Carter we have a Candidate Jekyl and President Hyde. But it is well to remember that Dr. Jekyl became Mr. Hyde out of a compelling dedication to science. So liberal candidate Carter becomes the fiscal conservative president, little different from his Nixon-Ford predecessors, out of his devotion to the corporate system or, as he puts it, to the requirements and "virtues" of the private sector.

In the compulsion to govern in the interests of sustaining the corporate order, Carter is little different from his liberal predecessors in this century—from Theodore Roosevelt and Wilson to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson. Their rhetoric, like Carter's, was also to the left of their policies. The difference is that Carter's predecessors had more room to maneuver in times when American capitalism was still expanding and when new forms of governmental involvement in the corporate economy were still to be put in place.

Risk of disruption.

But Carter assumes the presidency at a time when any expansion, by peaceful means or by war, is not open to Ameri-

Because of this, both defenders of democratic rights and political liberties (and, therefore, enemies of the FBI and the CIA) and defenders of the Bureau and Agency are both pressing for reforms. The agencies' defenders need reforms to "restore confidence" in government. The defenders of democratic rights wish to secure constitutional guarantees. As a result, several legislative proposals have been or will be presented this coming year.

We support one of these, the Federal Intelligence Agencies Control Act of 1977 (HR-6051), introduced by Rep. Herman Badillo (D-N.Y.) and 17 co-sponsors. Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Cal.) has introduced a similar bill. The purpose of the bill, whose provisions are outlined in the box below, is to guarantee that national security and the enforcement of law are achieved within constitutional restraints and without violating democratic principles.

We urge readers to support the Badillo bill by writing to him and to your representative at the House Office Building, Washington, D.C., 20515.

can capitalism as the way to ameliorate class conflict and social antagonisms. And he holds office at a time when government has become so integral a component of the corporate economy that its behavior must either accord with the demands of the corporate investment system or, short of a socialist reconstruction, risk disrupting and bringing down the whole economy and with it the chances of reelection.

Whatever the public rhetoric, therefore, be its phrase-making liberal or conservative, there is little room for differences over government policy in practice between a Republican and a Democratic president. The disparities between Carter's promises and his policies testify to the realities of corporate power in dominating the American political-economy.

In Carter's case, those disparities have revealed themselves more quickly and starkly than ever before—scarcely three months past the inauguration. And that difference in degree signifies something new in American political history: Not that Carter is more of a hypocrite or demagogue than other presidents, but that the old ideological and programmatic verities are dissolving as the requirements of corporate capitalism make it impossible to implement programs for full employment, stable prices, medical and health care, urban development, environmental protection, racial and sex equality, or adequate and affordable housing and education. Those members of Congress and social movements concerned for such things find themselves forced to act against even a liberal-sounding president whether or not he be of their own party. And voters are casting about for programmatic alternatives.

A new ideology?

Carter and his advisers like Pat Caddell (*ITT*, June 1) are searching for a "new ideology" to gather in the growing number of voters disaffected from the two major parties. But wedded as they are to restoring the old corporate consensus, they can only give us more of the same disparities between promises and performance.

A new testament signifying the renewal of the American democratic and egalitarian tradition will not come from the cloth of technocratic mysteries and old moral pieties Carter and like-minded Republicans and Democrats are trying to weave together. It will have to come from elsewhere—from those movements of working people opposed to the corporate order and candidly bringing socialist views and programs to the people.

HR-6051

The Federal Intelligence Agencies Control Act of 1977

Title I—domestic political investigations; allows only investigation of crimes

Title II—sets and regulates the kinds of investigative techniques that are allowable

Title III—reforms the CIA, renames it the Foreign Information Service, outlawing covert operations, and limiting it to analyzing intelligence from technical and open sources.

Title IV—revises the secrecy system by limiting the kind of information that can be classified and by denying classi-

fication to any evidence of official crime.

Title V—outlaws official deceit and plausible denial.

Title VI—protects government employees who blow the whistle on illegal agency activities.

Title VII—sets up a temporary special prosecutor with jurisdiction over the crimes of the intelligence agencies.

Other provisions of the act:

- criminal penalties against officials who violate the Act
- gives victims a statutory basis to sue for damages
- requires greater oversight of the intelligence agencies—public budgets, audits, review, warrant requirements, paper trails.

THE FACTORY WITH RIFKA



Letters

In defense of dinosaurs

Editor:

Two articles in recent months have made analogies between advanced capitalist technology and dinosaurs. "The Future of the Automobile" compares giant, unresponsive auto companies to sluggish dinosaurs. Your article on E.F. Schumacher refers to our "dinosaur technology" as large, complex, costly and violent, and therefore destined for extinction. I hope this does not reflect a new editorial policy.

Besides the question of whether or not an innocent group of reptiles deserves to be insulted by such a comparison, the analogy is, I believe, inaccurate. Yes, dinosaurs did prove to be incompatible with changes in the ecosphere and became extinct over 60 million years ago. But dinosaurs roamed the earth for about 150 million years before that.

Let's hope that capitalist technology is not so successful and does not last that long.

—Amie Alpert
Middletown, Conn.

Buy a book!

Editor:

I totally disagree with Mavis Lyon's point of view on Woody Allen's *Annie Hall* (ITT, May 25). This film is just trash. Only one example: the scene where McLuhan appears ("in person," can you believe that folks) to "criticize" a so-called intellectual professor with the real profound comment: "You understand nothing." I understand this is dumb. Besides the poverty of the whole script, besides the nonexistence of the characters, the total lack of invention as far as the film making techniques go, *Annie Hall* carries a stinking ideology: one any rightist anti-"intellectual" individualistic petit-bourgeois audience shall definitely approve and applaud. Because mediocrity only enjoys mediocrity and that's what *Annie Hall* is all about. So-called psychological "problems" of uninteresting rich zombies, fantasies of retarded high school students, passive cynicism toward the corruption of the mass-media, nihilism without any feeling but sentimentality: shame on you, Woody. We used to laugh a lot with you and the tears were sometimes humanly bitter; *Annie Hall* spoiled you. I'd wish you'd leave the Hollywoodian big money and run again. (Did you notice Woody never runs in this movie?) When? For the readers of ITT one advice: save your money and buy a book.

—Philippe Boucher
Seattle, Wash.

Keep it up!

Editor:

Here's my contribution to sustain you in your good work. Reading the May 11 issue, the importance of having an ongoing source of news reported from a socialist perspective struck me. The necessity of seeing the connections in areas like consumer/labor/free trade, or technology/cheap foreign labor/job protection is being helped vitally by your sustained coverage. Keep up the good work.

—Rob Smith
Helena, Mont.

Rats

Editor:

"Ratsus" drives me up the wall—the damned thing isn't even funny!

There is currently no shortage of bourgeois newspapers whose job is to debase workers by promoting vicious stereotypes. For a "socialist newspaper" to feature a cartoon that portrays workers as fumbling, illiterate dimwits is outrageous. You presumably have feminists around to edit out sexist humor—is it asking too much for you to edit this pathetic class bias? Your paper is good, but we expect better.

—Martin Manley
Santa Cruz, Calif.

With the exception of sports

Editor:

Again congratulations to you people for numbers 26 and 27. I have hardly ever read every single article in a paper—I did so in these issues (with the exception of sports, which don't interest me).

—Herbert Marcuse
La Jolla, Calif.

Prison reform impossible?

Editor:

Roberta Lynch (ITT, May 10) emphasized the need for prison reform because "people who commit crimes may need to be locked up." Most prison wardens and correctional administrators nationwide would agree. The correctional establishment would love bigger, newer, nicer prisons which then could be filled with even more unemployed poor and Third World people. All this, of course, in the name of suffering humanity.

Lynch should look at *Kind and Unusual Punishment* by Jessica Mitford or *The Politics of Punishment* by Erik Wright. Anyone who has worked in criminal justice projects soon learns that prison reform is no matter how wonderful get watered down in passage (on the rare occasions when they pass) and then are administered by wardens and prison guards. In this process, whatever features of the reform would have benefited the prisoners get dropped, and whatever strengthened administration control over prisoners gets implemented. The bill to reform the indeterminate sentence in California (SB-42), for example, has become a shopping list for the correctional establishment.

Prison reform is simply impossible under our present capitalist system. Accordingly, progressives should support measures to reduce the power of prison administrators—including a moratorium on new construction, community based alternatives to prison and prisoners' union.

—Eve Pell
Mill Valley, Calif.

Communist propaganda?

Editor:

Your article on Dolores Ibarruri (ITT, May 25) is not much more than propaganda for the Spanish Communist party. If the Spanish Communist party ever had a million members during the Civil War, which is questionable, it was still a minority party on the left, outnumbered by the syndicalist CNT-FAI with two million, and the socialist PSOE and their trade union, the UGT. And yet the Spanish Communist party controlled all the arms shipments from Russia, and withheld arms from both the Republican government and the worker-militias until their leadership was headed. The party's not-so-democratic role during the civil war has not been forgotten in Spain.

No doubt the party has changed. But we must weigh the historical record if we want to understand the current developments in Spain, which may be important in the near future. For news on the rebirth of the liberation movement in Spain, *News from Libertarian Spain*, Libertarian News Service, c/o Freespace Alternative U., 339 Lafayette St., N.Y.C. 10012.

—Frank Gerould
Philadelphia, Pa.

Two can wear the shoe

Editor:

I recently found out about IN THESE TIMES from a friend. After seeing a couple of issues I promptly cancelled *Newsweek*—good riddance—and subscribed to ITT. Finally an American socialist paper that has the humor, tolerance and breadth of socialist literature in—say—England or France. We have long needed such.

One lapse on your part was your article on the shoe industry (ITT, April 20). The arguments for protectionism have their points, but there are counter-arguments that I don't recall seeing in the article. First, most of our competitor countries have served notice that any further protectionism in the U.S. would set off a wave of protectionism worldwide that would just about end American exports, for better or worse. Second, what are the foreign workers going to do? What happened to international labor solidarity? American shoes would be competitive if the shoe manufacturers' bosses—would improve production technology and shoe quality. I would gladly pay five times as much for American shoes if they lasted five times as long as foreign ones. In fact they last as long.

Anyway, there can be different opinions on this but surely no difference of opinion on the poor taste of one aspect of the cartoon that went with

article. The "foreign workers" in the cartoon were stereotyped Yellow Peril Orientals, straight out of the anti-japanese propaganda of World War II. Surely unintended, but unsavory.

—E.N. Anderson Jr.
Grand Terrace, Calif.

The Israeli left

Editor:

Carl Goldman's letter (ITT, June 1) questioning some aspects of my article "Israeli New Left Unites for Elections" (ITT, Apr. 27) misrepresents both Sheli and Rakach/Hadash. First, I should note that my article was edited by ITT and did, originally, include comments about Hadash, which won five seats in the elections (one more than Rakach won on its own in the last elections) because it does not represent anything particularly "new" and because the "small groups" that joined Rakach in Hadash are, basically, small groups with the exception of the local Arab council heads. Rakach has long worked with non-communist Israeli Arabs and many Israeli Arabs have seen Rakach as one of the few political addresses they could turn to in Israel.

Nonetheless, I did point out that most of the people in Sheli are democratic socialists and Rakach's staunch pro-Soviet and anti-zionist line prevents them from working in a "popular front" together. Rakach has never made inroads in the Jewish Israeli working class because they have never been on the right side of any Jewish issue in Israel or elsewhere. On issues, such as the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, I suggest Goldman examine the record. Rakach simply can't be compared with the CP of Italy, for example.

Any serious left opposition in Israel must include Jews and Arabs. Sheli did have a prominent Israeli Arab educator as fifth on their list for the ~~last~~ election. However Rakach has completely alienated itself from the Jewish working class and is an impossible starting point for a new Israeli left.

Since Sheli won all of two seats in the elections (slightly over 10,000 votes) and since Israel is now faced with the potentially catastrophic right-wing government, it is time for the Israeli left and their supporters in the U.S. to re-evaluate the strategies of the past and search for a new path to construct a viable left opposition.

—Michael Cohen
New York

Correction:

In the May 25-31 issue, Alex Dobkin's records were incorrectly listed as available through the Women's Music Network. The correct address is Project #1, Boston Hollow, New York 11469.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters short and use words in plain language. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts which may hurt what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type on one side of the paper or at least write in the margins.

Donna Allen

Feminists for Media Rights win some changes on WGAL-TV

It's not often we can *do* something about media monopoly, so it's good news when it happens—as it did in Lancaster, Pa., where the Steinman family owned the television station, two of the five radio stations, the city's two dailies, morning and evening, and its Sunday paper—and a controlling interest in Lancaster's cable TV system.

The Supreme Court has held that 75 percent control of a market constitutes monopoly. The Justice department calculated that the Steinman family controlled 89 percent of local advertising revenues. But it wasn't the Justice department that did something about the media monopoly in the Lancaster/Harrisburg/York/Lebanon area.

It was Feminists for Media Rights, a coalition of the Lancaster Women's Center and two chapters (Harrisburg and Lebanon Valley) of the National Organization for Women (NOW), represented in Washington by the Citizens Communications Center. The women began their campaign back in 1974 when the Steinman family applied to the Federal Communications Commission on June 1, 1975, for a renewal of its license to operate WGAL-TV. Feminists for Media Rights filed a 76-page petition to deny the renewal. Using all the evidence they had been accumu-

lating they charged violation of the Sherman and Clayton antitrust laws and the FCC's rules against broadcast/newspaper cross-ownership and illegal discrimination against women.

The rest of 1975 and 1976 was spent responding to responses and filing various motions by the women to force a decision from the FCC.

(When the Steinman family proposed to sell its two Lancaster radio stations, the women began action under the Freedom of Information Act to see all records of communications between the FCC and WGAL and the prospective purchaser. The two radio stations were eventually sold.)

Finally on Dec. 29, 1976, the FCC set a hearing date for June 1977. In April an agreement was signed between Feminists for Media Rights and WGAL-TV, Inc.

The agreement provided for the Steinman's divestiture of WGAL-TV by Dec. 31, 1981. In addition it agreed that: "The Board of Directors of Cable TV Associates shall not contain a majority of directors who also serve on the Board of Lancaster Newspapers, Inc., and vice versa.

"Subject to the approval of its minority stockholders, (a) Cable TV Associates shall provide free public access time...."

"Free Speech Messages: WGAL-TV will introduce, promote and broadcast free speech messages which are 30-second or 60-second appearances by persons wishing to express a point of view on matters of legitimate concern to the community. There will be up to three such messages per week, repeated four times each week and distributed throughout the broadcast day, including prime time....

"Public Service Announcements: WGAL-TV will increase the minimum number of public service announcements...by 10 percent...[and] inform women's groups and organizations of the availability of such announcements, including extending invitations to attend briefings at the station on the preparation, production and utilization of PSA's, free speech messages and other public service programming."

Naturally, the women complained that there was no women's programming, so:

"WGAL-TV will establish the position of Women's Program Director to be filled by a person who is informed of and has demonstrated a sensitivity to the women's movement for equal rights....

"WGAL-TV will commence a weekly one-half hour program which addresses the needs of problems of women, such as

discrimination against women, the Equal Rights Amendment, and violence against women...at a fixed time between the hours of 7 p.m. and 11 p.m....

"WGAL-TV shall increase coverage of women's sports with women's sports scores being reported in the same manner as men's."

There was more: \$100,000 for scholarships to train women in the area for technical and other positions in the broadcast industry, for just one more example.

In order to redress the inadequate news coverage of women the agreement stipulated that the WGAL-TV news staff should dig up stories concerning women "at least once weekly on the evening news." It also provided a \$150,000 grant to KNOW, Inc. (a non-profit women's news service in Pittsburgh) "...to disseminate news and information about the needs and concerns of women."

It's not that this agreement is the ultimate. Compared to what we have in mind it is only a modest beginning....until the next group of women somewhere comes up with one that tops this.

Donna Allen is director of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press and Editor/Publisher of Media Report to Women.



Gaucherie

Gau-che-rie *n.* 1. awkwardness; clumsiness; tactlessness. 2. an awkward or tactless movement, act, etc. (tr. F., der. *gauch*, awkward, lit. left [hand]).

The Gaucherie column is open to dialogue and debate among socialists and leftists over principles, strategy and tactics. It will serve to promote the democratic exchange of views among socialists and leftists in a public forum.

The Trumpet & the Ladder II. The Ladder.

At bottom, the standard new left and old left trumpet of despair over the unreceptiveness of the people to socialism, expresses a fear of and estrangement from the American working class. That fear and estrangement in turn feeds an attitude of condescension toward and contempt for working people, expressed in the view that they are not "ready" for socialist views and action, that they are scared of a word. The whole syndrome reinforces the continuing evasion by leftists of articulating a positive belief in such principles of democratic socialism suited to American conditions as would mark the passage from a protesting acquiescence in capitalist power, to a socialist class consciousness that assumes responsibility for the shape of society and its reshaping.

The syndrome of fear, estrangement and evasion corresponds with the outlook of those in the middle strata of advanced capitalist society who are deprived of significant power, who intellectually and emotionally identify with "revolution" as a power-surrogate, but who, in the absence of participating in the overt propagation of socialism in popular politics, bound back and forth within the basic confines of reform paternalism in public, and the old petty-bourgeois rage vented privately in closet meetings with ritualistic rhetoric. The revolutionary professions of the trumpeters of despair are therefore not the expression, but a com-

pensatory denial, of their real acquiescent political and social condition. It is a posture of disaffected accommodation to the capitalist status quo. It is an elitism of the impotent.

The syndrome afflicts as well those of working-class origin who become leaders or members of left movements that avoid the public propagation of socialism: In their activities in the movements and in assuming leadership positions within them, they can "raise" themselves from their former social conditions, and undergo the process of in fact changing their social position, of rising from ordinary wage employment to vocations associated with the educated professions, through the agency of a left-wing political organization.

But people from the middle strata do essentially the same thing. They leave behind their formerly narrow horizons, cramping or distasteful career prospects, for what seem to them broader, richer, more fulfilling careers, or for experiences, training, and contacts leading to such careers.

They write, they speak, they chair meetings, they run offices and service centers, they learn how to make reports and implement them; they organize protest and reform events; they publish newsletters, newspapers, journals, house organs; they travel and meet interesting people. They develop valuable professional skills.

Most of them move in the lawful world above; some move underground or thwart the law. But they are all absorbed in the respectable vocations, tangential avocations, or benevolent pursuits, while convincing themselves of their fidelity to a revolutionary calling.

All this is quite normal in the Land of Opportunity. It is part and parcel of the larger story of social mobility, uplift idealism, and associational voluntarism in liberal capitalist America, whether involving legal or illegal means. There is nothing necessarily wrong in people so bettering themselves. They make notable contributions to the dynamism, variability, and excitement of the existing society.

What is wrong, or at least inaccurate, is their presenting themselves as the peo-

ple's chosen revolutionary leaders, their being accepted by others on the left as an adequate (or the only possible type of) revolutionary leadership, and their passing judgment on the people as not "good enough" or not "ready" when the people fail to acknowledge their leadership.

American left political movements, or the professedly socialist ones, that have not engaged consistently in the popular propagation of socialism and thereby in the work of transforming the consciousness of the working class, have failed in practice to revolutionize their own. They have failed to develop a politically effective socialist consciousness among their own members. It is a notorious "open secret" on the left in the U.S. today that the last place one would go for coherent ideas about socialism (or even for knowledge of Marx, Lenin, etc.) is among members of those professedly socialist organizations and parties that do everything but publicly propagate socialism in the American vernacular among the people at large.

Those movements have become themselves another small burden upon the working class, preaching to the workers and presuming to uplift them, but purveying an ideology that goes no farther in practice than becoming another protest-reform enclave of paternalism within the world of corporate-liberalism, passing under cover of radical slogans and words.

In a supreme irony of history, these movements also become another romantic-rebel actualization of the classic American Horatio Alger dream. They become social ladders upon which those of leftist sentiments among the middle strata can carry on in comfort, in edifying adventure, and sometimes in fame, and those in the working class can rise, without feeling that they have compromised their principles or sullied their self-respect.

Self-righteousness and sanctimony are as common among them as with the proverbial "self-made men." Like the latter, they dwell upon their sacrifices (for the people), their self-discipline, their self-deprivation, their seriousness, especially their indignation and resentments, and upon everyone else's social indifference, back-sliding, selfishness, apathy, cynicism or tainted thoughts. Like doctors recalling their medical school ordeals, they dream of presenting the world with large bills for their services: "Comes the Revolution..."

But since these movements and their members do not propagate socialism among the people in the vernacular, nor

organize politically along those lines, they are no more a threat to the ruling class than is organized crime. The one and the other are actually rather useful to the ruling class to have around. They perform as very safe safety-valves, as well as purveyors of useful services and absorbing vocations.

The minions of Organized Virtue and Organized Crime live off the people's miseries without putting an end to them, often with an interest in perpetuating them. They sometimes war upon one another, or among themselves, setting workers against workers in front-line positions. They help keep the law-and-order issue hot. They resuscitate the mythos of the romantic American west with a kind of crepuscular urban version of the old frontier.

The trumpeters of despair on the left are more make-believe than real paternalists, without popular authority, without children to honor and obey them; perennial vanguards without a following; Visible Saints unheeded by the irreverent unwashed. A Vanguard of the Indifferently Damned. It is as if the last thing they want is a popular socialist movement in the United States: the heights of salvation may become overcrowded, competition for place and distinction may get too fierce, and the Calling may become dangerous in the eyes of the Lords Corporate.

In the olden days it was said of Second International socialists that they all wanted to be socialists without being revolutionaries. Today it is the fashion to be horn-blowing revolutionaries without being socialists—in public, and only ritualistically in private. The ruling class has had cause to fear neither the one nor the other, for they have known both types to have been climbing Alger's not Jacob's ladder.

Think of all the media and movement "stars," the journalists, authors, advisers and consultants, religious converts, memoirists, officers of small left-wing groups, and hosts of other "personalities," who in acclaiming their "radicalism," even their "Marxism-Leninism," but avoiding like the plague the public propagation of socialism in the American vernacular, have risen on the ladder of the left. Some move off the ladder at a certain rung of ascension to a higher or sturdier one; others never let go. The loudest trumpeters of despair are the highest and hardest ladder-climbers.

It's time to strike the ladder by changing the tune.

—Martin J. Sklar

Robert Carson

Sunbelt booms as government gives North's taxes to South

The Southern economic resurgence, which *Business Week* whimsically calls "The New War Between the States," reflects important structural changes in the U.S. economy.

Until a few years ago, the Southern economy was primarily a supplier of raw materials for Northern industry and a consumer of its industrial products. The old South, and much of the Southwest, retained its traditional colonial relationship to the rest of the economy. Now the colony and the mother country have switched roles. Many industrial giants have moved or are about to move southward. The newest technology and capital-intensive production techniques are being introduced in the Sunbelt by G.E., G.M., Litton, Kellogg, Rockwell, Lockheed and others. Upstate New Yorkers are aware that G.E. is phasing out its Syracuse and Schenectady operations. Similarly IBM is scaling down at Binghamton, Kingston and Poughkeepsie in anticipation of further overseas moves and expansion in the South.

In the past, Northern capital moved South primarily to exploit labor advantages, transportation of raw material savings. To Southerners, this was simply a new form of carpetbagging since the financial and corporate decision-making power remained in New York or Chicago skyscrapers. As monopoly capital has been moving management and research operations nearer the growing Southern market this too is changing. Capital may indeed be carpetbagging again but this time with more than toothbrush and change of socks.

Federal Spending and Taxes by Region, 1975

	Spending/ Person	Taxes/ Person	Spending Tax Ratio	Dollar Flow
New England	\$ 1,470	\$ 1,533	.96	\$ -702
Mid Atlantic	1,325	1,594	.83	-10,013
Great Lakes	1,064	1,518	.70	-18,618
Great Plains	1,287	1,375	.94	-1,456
South Atlantic	1,459	1,303	1.12	+4,986
South Central	1,327	1,137	1.17	+6,536
Mountain*	1,712	1,431	1.20	+3,631
Pacific	1,745	1,497	1.17	+7,008
Dist. of Columbia	13,957	1,820	7.67	+8,690
USA—Total	1,412	1,412	1.00	0

*Half of this dollar flow is provided by two southwest sunbelt states included in the Mountain category: Arizona and New Mexico. Source: National Journal, June 26, 1976.

The evidence speaks for itself.

The South is now a vibrant and growing industrial region. In the eleven ex-confederate states, with about 25 percent of the national population, the dreary agricultural past has been swept aside. The region now has more than an equal share of American manufacturing establishments, employment and value added. Since 1939 the South's industrial growth has been about twice the national average. In the past 15 years manufacturing employment has grown 43.3 percent in the Southeast and 67.3 percent in the Southwest, while it has grown only 17.8 percent in the Pacific states, 13.7 percent in the Mid-Atlantic states, 9.0 percent in New England and 3.2 percent in the Great Lakes region.

The growth of Southern agriculture has been even more startling. Always the backbone of Southern economy, farming

has become modern and capital intensive. Between 1940 and 1970 rural depopulation proceeded at a 25 percent faster rate in the South than in the nation as a whole. Yet the value of produce grew 20 percent faster than the national average. By 1973, with the mechanization of crop production and the introduction of important new crops, like soy beans, and of commercial-vegetable and fruit farming, the old confederacy accounted for one-quarter of total dollar output in farm goods.

The basis of the boom.

The Southern boom has been explained in terms of the cheap non-union Southern labor force and industry's flight from high northern state and local taxes. But to these we must add three other important developments.

First, the growth of a Southern market invites industrial relocation. Between 1960 and 1970 Southern population has grown twice as fast as that of the North and Midwest. And since 1970, the two older industrial centers have lost over 2.5 million people. All Sunbelt states, except Louisiana, had net migration gains, and almost all had population increased of more than twice the national average of 4.8 percent between 1970 and 1975. Furthermore, as we pointed out in the previous article (*ITT*, April 27), Southern personal income, though still behind the North, grew substantially (by 1975 Georgians averaged more than Vermonters and Texans equaled Indianans).

Second, more than half the nation's leading energy producing states are in the sunbelt. Southern costs per BTU are only 27 percent of those in New England. Moreover, sunbelt climate demands less energy.

Third, and probably more important, the Sunbelt economy is subsidized through discriminatory federal taxing, transferring and spending. The government takes from the declining industrial areas and promotes growth in the growing sunbelt. As the table shows, the Northeast and Midwest lose about \$28 billion per year in tax money not returned, while the Sunbelt gains about \$20 billion because of greater federal spending than taxation.

Higher federal taxes in the North and Midwest reflects the higher incomes of these regions. Higher spending per capita in the South and West reflects greater federal defense and space expenditures, public work outlays and welfare transfers.

North & Midwest carry the burden.

This siphoning off Northern and Midwestern income, which is heaped on top of a crushing state and local tax burden running at between 50 and 75 percent higher than those in the sunbelt, is astounding in certain states. Illinois, for instance, lost \$5.3 billion. Ohio, Michigan and New Jersey lose between \$4.5 and 4.7 billion each. New York, Pennsylvania and Indiana lose \$3.4, \$2.2 and \$2.0 billion respectively. Such regional fiscal theft can only cause greater decay in the old Northeastern and Midwestern industrial areas. There is simply no way these areas can recover from annual losses of about \$30 billion.

Implications to the left.

This new North/South conflict poses important theoretical and organizational problems for the American left. The uneven economic development North and South must be seen as producing very different working-class consciousness in the two areas. Substantial worker opposition to what is often seen as "Northern unionism" should not quickly be dismissed. As the J.P. Stevens organizational struggle indicates, even without company threats and prompting, many southern workers are unimpressed by the AFL-CIO. The corporations are quite correct in assuming that southern workers are often anti-union and at best only moderately militant in pressing demands at present. Support for "right to work laws," which are on the books in 11 of 14 sunbelt states, are not merely corporate creations. At the grass roots level many Southern communities here augmented "right to work" with requirements for union organizers' registration and payment of high license fees. Quite simply, large numbers of southern workers fear the possible job loss of unionism and others simply oppose it philosophically and ideologically. Unions, more than industry, are often seen as the new carpetbaggers.

The need for a new strategy.

Uneven development produces distinctly different regional interests. I can think of no reason to believe that the citizens of Durham will "naturally" be identical political interests with the citizenry of Gary. A democratic socialism that fails to comprehend this regional disparity must finally be utopian in believing that all the people have the same understanding of industrialism in general and capitalism in particular. Ironically, Carter and the corporate liberals recognize the unevenness of economic development within the U.S.—as Carter's energy "bones" thrown to the Northeast indicates.

The socialist critique of advanced monopoly capitalism will not presently succeed if it is based on exclusively northern industrial experience. There is a need to develop a Southern analysis and strategy and to integrate this into socialist politics. Otherwise we have little to say to a very large part of the population and to the most significant portion of the country. More important, the North/South division of the working class will be (in fact is) exploited politically to divide workers against workers. As the energy program and the present pattern of government spending indicate, the basic regional economic division should be expected to sharpen. The left must consider the political consequences.

Robert Carson teaches economics at State University College, Oneonta, NY, and is author of *Main Line to Obsolete: the Disintegration of New York Railroads in the 20th Century*.

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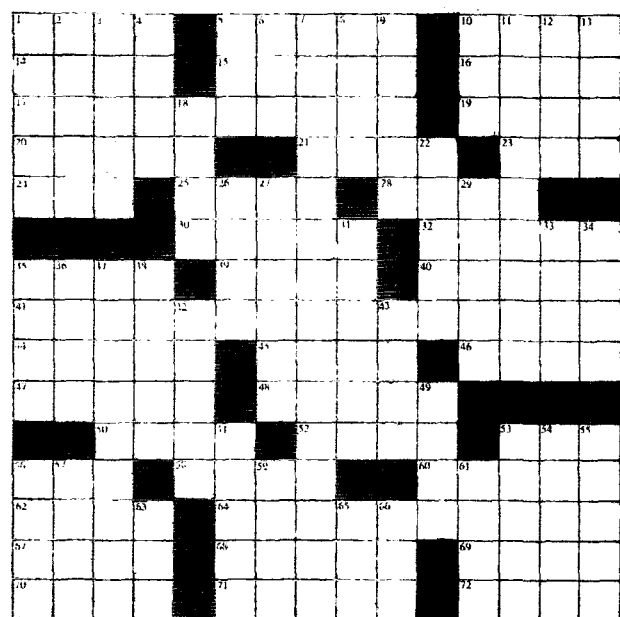
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- 24 Dated, Abbr.
- 25 Korean dialect
- 26 Onionlike plant
- 30 Whiskey drink
- 32 Understand
- 33 "Sweet words" of...
- 37 "I am a..."
- 40 Proclaim
- 41 Powerful by...
- 44 Boiled...
- 45 Intense
- 46 Method, Abbr.
- 47 Catholic child martyr

Down:

- 8 Once more
- 9 Dare, in Montmartre
- 12 Devine
- 13 Television letters
- 16 Giant corporation
- 18 Hard or soft
- 20 Gordo or _____ de Pasco
- 22 National Security to friends?
- 24 See 17 Across
- 27 _____ Homo
- 28 Transportation
- 29 House or crier
- 30 Academic degree: Abbr.
- 31 _____ physician
- 32 _____, et al.
- 34 Chemical prefix
- 35 _____ fruit
- 36 _____ fix for neur or hypn
- 38 _____ to vaccine
- 39 _____ personage: Abbr.
- 40 Before
- 41 Bell

- 8 _____ much as
- 9 State flower of N.H.
- 10 Japanese sash
- 11 Kreps of Commerce
- 12 Suffix for cyclo
- 13 Sicilian volcano
- 18 Scottish seaport, et al.
- 22 Strictness
- 26 Part of a donkey's leg
- 27 Archimedes' cry
- 29 Some are transitive
- 31 Description of Sprat or Cassius?
- 33 Japanese leader and family
- 34 Oral
- 35 Bathsheba's husband
- 36 Ballad
- 37 Michael's specialty
- 38 Are sometimes gray, sometimes blue
- 42 Another's (with someone)
- 43 City in Oklahoma
- 49 The Big Apple, et al.: Abbr.
- 51 Summary
- 53 Legendary Greek poet
- 54 Defense
- 55 Boxer Billy and Family
- 56 Suffix for theor or civil
- 57 British TV or radio, et al.
- 59 Site of napoleonic victory
- 61 This, in Malaga
- 63 Tapayan Indian
- 65 Madam in Paris: Abbr.
- 66 Long or Fire: Abbr.

Solution to last week's puzzle:

DONT ARC ABAC
ABET HOOT LAVAL
LIAR SPROUL HALL
ETTU LEARN LEA
GAST ST TUTE
ITHA HEN TITAN
STOAL KROV INAVE
TIARAL KROV INAVE
CLAR KERRS ISO
KEY TH I
FEW ELISA TRAF
FREE SPCH TRIO
AMIN BETA YPSL
SAND BIG JACK

LIFE IN THE U.S.

The tangled web of child pornography

Child pornography has become this spring's special kick for enterprising journalists and grandstanding politicians.

Distasteful as sexual exploitation of children is, the thriving business of exposes and legislative inquiries is often as twisted as the lurid subject itself.

The assault on child pornography, touching only peripherally on the much larger problem of child abuse, is part of a conservative rebuke of what is misleadingly labeled a "permissive society." It appears to be an opening wedge in a general reaction in some quarters against pornographic materials, legal rights of homosexuals, changing patterns of adolescent sexuality, psychoactive drug use and even changing sex roles and family relationships.

When the current outcry dies down there will be a few new laws carrying harsher sentences, some headlines for politicians and media figures, prizes for crusading journalists, and a flurry of arrests and prosecutions. The offending photographs showing young people in sexually provocative poses will be available only through more clandestine channels. But there won't be much new to help today's kids grow up happier, healthier and more fulfilled.

The newspaper stories in hundreds of papers, the CBS report on *Sixty Minutes*, and the hearings before committees of the House and Senate as well as several local and state government bodies have covered everything from little children posing in erotic magazines like *Lolliots* to teenage prostitution, from organized and commercialized pederasty pitched to the "chicken hawks" to rising pregnancy and sexual activity among teenagers just past puberty.

As the floodlights beam on this demi-monde, the peculiar focus taken tells as much about the men behind the light as about the part of the sexual sideshow illuminated.

Why the outrage?

Why are so many people so outraged by these revelations? Although a lot of obvious answers pop quickly to mind, it's worth remembering some facts that put these events in perspective. At least since Freud and Kinsey, our society has been reminded that children have sexual feelings and needs. We've also known that children develop sexually according to widely varying personal calendars, so that some 13-year-olds are more mature than some 20-year-olds.

Since time immemorial adults in many cultures have had sex with younger people of their own or the opposite sex. In a few societies it has been an approved, even prominent form of sexual relationship. Even in those societies where pedophilia, or the sexual love of children, has been severely frowned on, the practice has existed. The pornographic archives of the Institute for Sex Research in Bloomington, Ind., show erotic pictures of children that date from the earliest days of photography. Sexually explicit photos of nude children have been a common stock in trade among professional photographers, and such people as Lewis Carroll, author of *Wonderland*, collected photographs of young girls with a barely draped modesty.

Sex with the young

But Americans are generally revolted by the notion that children are expected to protect and care for adults, would have sexual relationships with older people. Even the most liberal of our views of what consenting adults should be able to do among themselves cannot justify the inequality of power between adults and children. The law should rule that sexual relationships between adults and children are illegal. The law comes from

Since time immemorial adults in many cultures have had sex with younger people of their own or the opposite sex. In a few societies it has been approved. But even where it has not, it has existed.

the two parties being in such an unequal position," Dr. Anne Seiden, research director at the Institute for Juvenile Research, said. "There were times in the past when marriages between a 13-year-old girl and a 32-year-old man would have been quite normal, but the families were involved to prevent gross exploitation, and marriages were not so egalitarian as we think they should be now.

"The question that deserves confrontation is how come so many men are unwilling to pick on someone their own size? So the 60-year-old who is interested only in a 30-year-old woman deserves to be asked that, too. Many men are uncomfortable dealing with women of their own maturity. There is a discomfort with sexual maturity. People feel sex is bad, sexual maturity is bad, and children are innocent. The idealization of supposed sexual innocence of children sets up a belief that sex itself is bad."

Seiden thinks that our society would be sexually healthier if adults looked on children's diverse sex play as cute and natural, not shameful, permitting both adult curiosity and childhood experimentation in a setting that does not abuse the children.

Harold S. Kant, a lawyer trained in clinical psychology and author of books and technical papers on pornography and sexual deviance, also believes that "the one common thread of male and female pedophilia is a general difficulty in dealing with peers, and inadequacy of the personality." Kant, who thinks that there has been an upsurge in production of child pornography in the past few years, believes it is possible that kid porn

may actually help the potential child molester to control his impulses and direct his fantasies to the pictures. In Denmark, child molestation dropped dramatically in the years after pornography restrictions were liberalized.

Child abuse.

Child abuse, of course, is something much different from and much more widespread than child pornography. Although the recent publicity, especially a sensationalist series in the *Chicago Tribune*, has focused on abuse of young boys by adult homosexuals, "the usual situation of sexual abuse of a child is abuse of a female child by a heterosexual male relative, who is either father, stepfather, foster father or another male member of the family," Dr. Seiden said.

Gay rights groups and civil libertarians, already alarmed at the Anita Bryant crusade in Florida and the defeat of several bills guaranteeing employment and other rights to homosexuals, see the twisted misrepresentations of the crusade against child pornography as an effort to stigmatize all homosexuals as child molesters, pursuing boys on their way home from school.

There are other serious distortions in the current child pornography campaign that lead to misunderstanding of the issues. Although the investigations and headlines talk about children in pornography, by far the vast majority of instances involve young adolescents. Much of the public may not want to recognize that growing percentages of 14- and 15-year old girls and boys are having sexual relations, but it does raise doubts

about whether they are best described as "children." Five or six year olds are a wholly different story.

Neglect of children.

The lurid stories also give the impression that model children from tree-shrouded homes are tricked and seduced into child pornography or prostitution. Yet nearly everyone, from policemen to pornographers, agrees that virtually all the children involved come from homes where they have received little care and attention. "Some of these kids have been so neglected," psychiatrist Seiden says, "that they are pathetically grateful for some kind of attention. It's like the relation of prostitute and pimp. The most serious abuse of the child was the original neglect that made the kid so lonely, and that is what the kids are saying when they don't complain about their treatment at the hands of adult photographers and sex partners."

Outraged observers also casually lump together pornography, prostitution, sexual abuse, pederasty and sexual permissiveness, despite the important differences—especially from the vantage of the law. For example, most knowledgeable students, including the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography report in 1971, conclude that pornography does not cause sexual abuse or prostitution.

Apparently a great many young prostitutes—male or female—are runaways, largely from unstable poor or working-class families. If they weren't in pornography and prostitution, many would be involved in other forms of delinquency. The alternative for the 15-year-old boy standing outside the Yankee Doodle fast food shop on Clark and Diversey in Chicago, waiting for an older man in a Cadillac to pick him up and pay \$25 a trick, is not majoring in chemistry at the Latin School. At best it's working for \$1.25 an hour as a busboy at the Yankee Doodle.

Continued on page 20.

Everyone wants into the act

By David Moberg
Staff Writer

The klieg lights were set up, the cameras readied. The Senators' name plates were in place. The pack of journalists, two-thirds of the audience in the small, sterile room of the Klczynski federal office building in Chicago, were ceremoniously penned off behind ropes. Security was tight.

The Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency was about to begin its first public hearing into "the sexual exploitation of children." It would be primarily a replay of tales about children in pornographic photos that had already been splashed through newspapers and TV, and the non-journalists present, mainly politicians, were tuned to easy publicity like a magnet toward the north pole.

A committee staff aide hurried over to Chicago Ald. Burke, apologizing that the committee wanted to get the hearing over with quickly. Consequently Burke wouldn't be able to testify. The ambitious young machine alderman had already staged City Council hearings on child pornography. He had wanted to invite as a witness Anita Bryant, the anti-homosexual voice peddler, who is not publicly known to have much knowledge of child pornography. "Thanks for your help," he whispered to Burke. "We mentioned you in the opening statement."

Burke smiled.

The opening Senatorial statements ranged from high-minded remarks by Sen. John Culver (D-Iowa) on the problem of runaways to Sen. Malcolm Wallop's (R-Wyo.) denunciation of "courts ever too lenient, ever too ready to grant the shield of the Constitution," as if the Constitution were something to be abandoned when expedient. Acting Mayor Michael Bilandic, granted the honor as lead-off witness, refused to admit that Chicago was a production center of child pornography ("we're just the victims of it"), then blamed the city's flourishing kid porn trade on the Illinois Supreme Court's decision 18 months earlier that the state anti-obscenity law was not valid.

Less profitable than oil.

When police Sgt. Ronald Kelly took the stand, the Senators showed intense curiosity about the prices of kiddie porn movies and pictures and the cost of production. Told that the markup was roughly 500 percent, something short of the margin on Arabian oil, the Committee was shocked.

Then came "Marty," or rather the piped-in voice of "Marty," a pseudonymous 17-year-old who worked as a prostitute and erotic movie model. In a sluggish, matter-of-fact fashion, he told about picking up tricks by standing around the Yankee Doodle restaurant in the "New

Town" entertainment area at nights, then spending his money on drugs and clothes or giving it to his mother. "I got into it 'cause it's an easy way of making money while I'm young," he explained. "It's easier than working." Chicago politicians should have understood that.

Marty declined the Committee's offers of counseling but seemed to please Sen. Wallop, who asked if he had any "desire directed towards girls." "I usually mess around with the women as much as possible," Marty replied.

The star of the show turned out to be a chubby, ruddy-faced, white-haired pornographer with the improbable name of Guy Strait. Now serving time for having sex with a minor, Strait implied that the market in child pornography was less than the tens of thousands of customers often cited. There had been no more than 1,200 people on his mailing list for a catalog of the hardest core pornographic films, which could only be obtained by sending \$1 and swearing that the recipient was "not a police officer or member of the Communist Party."

Models no problem.

Strait said that finding models for the films was "the smallest problem. The Committee might be disturbed to find out there's a multitude of people willing

Continued on page 19.

SPORTS

Montreal— Hockey's top team

By Gary Kulik
The Montreal Canadiens, the most consistently successful team in professional sports in the last 30 years, are the champions of the National Hockey League for the second year in a row.

After clearly dominating the regular season and setting numerous new team records, the Canadiens won the post-season playoffs in convincing fashion. They took four straight from the St. Louis Blues in the quarterfinals, defeated the New York Islanders in six games in the semifinals, and swept the finals against the team which promised to be their most formidable foe, the Boston Bruins.

The Canadiens lost only eight games in the regular season. The Bruins were responsible for three of those losses, and were the only team to hold an edge over the Canadiens in games played this season. But with the Stanley Cup on the line, the Bruins were completely outmatched.

The Canadiens won the fourth and final game with the Bruins on May 14. They did so in characteristic manner. Allowing the early goal to the Bruins (the first and only time Boston led in the four-game series), the Canadiens played tight defense, got steady and, at times, spectacular goal-tending from Ken Dryden, and applied constant offensive pressure. Jacques Lemaire, set up in front by Larry Robinson, tied the game for the Canadiens early in the second period.

Montreal generally had the better scoring chances in the second and third periods as their fleet wings and mobile defensemen began to carry the play.

With the score tied at the end of regulation, the game entered a sudden-death overtime. Guy Lafleur, the most valuable in the series and the League's most explosive skater, set up the winning goal at the four minute mark of overtime. Lafleur stole the puck behind the Bruins' goal and passed in front to his linemate Lemaire who converted from in close.

Dedication, pride and teamwork.

The facile explanation for the Canadiens' success is their superior talent.

There is no question that this is an immensely talented team. Dryden, a lawyer who worked for a time for Ralph Nader, is one of the league's best goaltenders.

The defensemen—Serge Savard, Guy Lapointe, Larry Robinson, Pierre Bouchard—are big, quick and mobile. Most sports-writers credit them with the team's success.

In the obligatory comparisons of this Canadian team with those teams of the Richard-Beliveau era (particularly the 1959 team) this year's defense stands out. No team in recent history has had a set of defensemen who so clearly dominate the game in their end.

The Canadiens' forwards also—led by the first line of Lafleur, Lemaire and Steve Shutt—are like all the great Canadian forwards of the past 30 years, exceptional skaters with great speed and finesse.

But no team wins on talent alone. The secret of the Canadiens is dedication, pride and teamwork.

As Dryden said in a post-game interview, the Canadiens have stars, like the unassuming Lafleur, who do not act like stars. And beneath their players of top rank are what one rival coach called the team's "plumbers," the unheralded, exceptionally hard-working forwards like Doug Jarvis, Doug Riseborough, Bob Gainey and Mario Tremblay, who skate their positions night after night and play aggressive defense against the opponent's high-scoring lines.

It was the Canadiens' "checking" line of Jarvis, Gainey and Tremblay who scored five of the team's seven goals in the first victory over the Bruins.

Symbols of French-Canadian pride.

The Canadiens have long performed before fans who are among the most supportive, critical and informed of any in professional sports. Symbols of French-Canadian pride, with deep roots in the Quebec working class, the Canadiens have been a team driven to the highest standards of excellence. Their fans have expected no less.

I remember a rare moment three years ago when the Boston Bruins soundly beat the Canadiens in the Montreal Forum. Jean Beliveau, the Canadiens' great center and now a team executive, appeared on a between-periods interview. He was visibly chagrined at the quality of the Canadiens' play and spoke forcefully, even eloquently, of the team's tradi-



It does not appear that the Canadiens' dominance will be challenged soon.

UPI

tion of excellence. What bothered him most was that the team was embarrassing itself, and embarrassing its fans.

Few professional teams in North America have the privilege of serving as sustained cultural symbols; few have had their success so intimately linked to a tradition reinforced and partly defined by their fans. One thinks of the Brooklyn Dodgers or the old Green Bay Packers as partial exceptions, but the symbolism of the Canadiens is deeper and has persisted.

No accurate history of recent French-Canadian nationalism, nor of the cultural roots of the *Parti Quebecois*, could be written without reference to the Montreal Canadiens. This is a team which reflects and supports the aspirations of French Canada.

Boston's come-from-behind hockey.

Though the season and the Stanley Cup belong to the Canadiens, the Boston Bruins deserve brief mention. No one expected them to be in the finals. They played magnificent, come-from-behind hockey in the final weeks of the season to earn their division's title.

They beat the Los Angeles Kings in the quarterfinals and swept four games from the Philadelphia Flyers in the semifinals. Their surprisingly convincing victory over the Flyers, combined with Mon-

treau's success the last two years, effectively ended the dominance of Philadelphia's style of hockey—a style which rested on intimidation and violence.

The Bruins beat the "Broad Street Bulies" with hard work, aggressive forechecking and careful position play. No longer a team of undisciplined super-stars and free spirits—as they were from 1969 to 1975—the reformed Bruins have learned the virtues of team play.

Symbolized by the selfless play of Brad Park, a superb attacking defenseman who limited his offensive production in order to stabilize a back line of rookies and journeymen, and by the desire and hustle of Terry O'Reilly, a winger of marginal talent but sustained capacity for self-improvement, the new Bruins went as far as their talent could carry them. Their talent was simply not sufficient to challenge the mighty Canadiens.

It does not appear that the Canadiens will be challenged soon. They are still a young team, deep in talent and tradition, with an exceptional minor league system. All the best young players of Quebec dream, not simply of playing professional hockey but playing for the Canadiens. They should dominate the National Hockey League for years to come.

Gary Kulik follows hockey from Pawtucket, R.I.

Continued from page 18.

Porno

to jump in front of the camera with or without their clothes on. Recruit? That's a bad word to use. I'd have to beat them away from my door. At first I would photograph them because I felt sorry for them."

Strait questioned the "sincerity of this committee....If people are concerned about juvenile abuse, they should adjourn and go down to St. Charles (a boys' prison), which is called the sissy factory of the world," because rape of inmates is so commonplace.

Another pornographer, Gerald Richards, described how the lure of making more money got him deeper into pornographic filmmaking—and eventually into jail—despite his desire to get out of the business. He described a furtive world of BL—boy love—devotees, communicating through journals such as *Better Life*, which espoused a philosophy of "mind-body relationships of men and boys."

After working part-time as an adult bookstore to pay himself through college—a progression in an industry noted by Sen. Wallop—Richards found the secretive market in pictures of young teenage boys as an especially lucrative, but concealed, way to make his money. He vowed to quit when his son was born.

"I became a very, very careful, explaining his sexuality, his orientation and sale of the pictures," he said. "I had to make money."

DO YOU HAVE 10 FRIENDS



who should be reading
IN THESE TIMES?

1. name

street

city/state/zip

2. name

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TRUCKING

Parkhurst and Overdrive
leading the independents

Leading the fight to preserve the independent trucker, *Overdrive* magazine, a slick with a circulation distributed through subscription and truck stops. Featuring photos of trucks, and cartoons, it assembles any number of similar situations until the stories are examples of a month finds stories exposing corruption, unsafe fleet operations, truck stops, freight brokers, abuses and the various financial conditions that write notes for the big rigs.

The magazine regularly battles the oil companies, recently exposed its competitor, *Overdrive*, as a subsidiary of the Pennwalt Oil Holdings.

Editor and publisher of *Overdrive* is former independent trucker Mike Parkhurst. Parkhurst has been fighting the independents' fight in *Overdrive* for over 13 years. He has played a key role in founding the independents' rival to the Teamsters, the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers (FASH), in exposing corruption in the Teamsters' Central States Pension Fund, and in organizing the national truck strikes of the '70s.

A dynamo of 43, open but still wary, Parkhurst articulates the "free enterprise" ideology favored by the independents. He actively promotes and encourages the romantic images that have grown up around trucking, using the illusory glamour and romance to promote a higher consciousness among truckers. (Incidentally, also supporting a significant accessories industry that advertises heavily in *Overdrive*.)

IN THESE TIMES had the opportunity to interview Parkhurst at the Atlanta trucking show. Excerpts from that interview follow:

On the history and accomplishments of *Overdrive* magazine—

Overdrive was started in September 1964. I was an independent trucker for 10 years before that. The magazine's purpose was to try and correct some of the ills that beset independent truckers, as well as to start the Independent Truckers Association and put some cohesive things around truckers. With organization, I knew that we could get things accomplished.

We have tried to pinpoint such problems in the magazine and have been rather successful in rectifying many wrongs.

On the 1973 truckers' shutdown—

Without *Overdrive*, there wouldn't have been any truckers' shutdown. We pinpointed the problems months before in the magazine. There were increasing fuel shortages and we had been writing about the oil companies ripping off the people. The government wasn't acting while the oil companies were sitting on their assets. The situation was becoming intolerable.

For a trucker who could only get four miles per gallon it was incredible. He would only be able to drive about 75 miles, about an hour and a half, then wait in line for two hours to drive another 75 miles.

I thought of having a target date of two days to shut down the independents of the country to dramatize their plight. We printed thousands of posters. The word spread rapidly over CB radio and some truckers took it into their own hands to have separate shutdowns. The biggest one occurred Dec. 13-14, our target date.

It appeared that the only way Congress would act was from the pressure of a shutdown.

Some truckstops threw *Overdrive* out, claiming that we were telling truckers to block their pumps. We created a lot of political enemies.



Fibben

Parkhurst articulates independents' 'free enterprise' ideology

The energy program doesn't even mention truckers. It talks about gas taxes. If truckers are not exempted from that miles-per-gallon provision, that would be a provoking situation. But I'm sure that President Carter has no intention of taxing trucks on the same basis as cars.

On the oil companies—

I don't believe that there is an oil shortage. One of the biggest frauds perpetrated on the American people is the deliberate misuse, by the oil companies and those they control, of the words "proven reserves." That's the key to the whole thing. A proven reserve of, say, a million barrels only means that's a million barrels down there that they can retrieve at the current market price. All the rest they don't count. That's why we need a real audit of not only the oil companies but all the oil.

Another program is that the oil companies are allowed to own 60 percent of all the coal and most of the geothermal fields.

What the independent trucker needs is what this country needs: a little free enterprise. They need to be able to compete with the large monopolies. The large freight carriers claim that there's all kinds of competition in trucking. That isn't so. There's only 15,000 licensed carriers serving about 40,000 towns. That means one carrier has a complete monopoly over three towns. That doesn't sound like competition to me.

We need legislation to fill up the empty trucks to save fuel and save independents from extinction. If Carter maintains his good posture, we may not have to unholster all our weapons.

I'm in business to help independent truckers. We'll have to develop a point of no return. If we don't get legislation, we'll have to get more active and militant.

More on trucking on page 24.

Child porn

Continued from page 18.

Confusion about the phenomenon may lead to some bad laws in an area notoriously difficult to legislate. Cautious politicians are trying to devise ways to ban child pornography without clashing with the First Amendment. Yet harsher moves are unleashed, such as revival in Illinois of broad anti-obscenity proposals and the recent closing of 24 porn shops in Chicago for building code violations. The issue beckons for political soapboxing. A recent bill in the Illinois Senate banning child pornography has nearly all of the Senators listed as sponsors.

David Hahn, executive director of the Illinois branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, fears "demagoguery" on the issue of child pornography. "It suggests that we only stop these magazines, we win child abuse," he said. "That's not true. There was child abuse before the first of them and there will be after the last one is gone." Actually, considering the testimony about the ways in which Illinois locate children for this sexual abuse, more good would probably be done by banning the Boy Scouts than by banning child pornography.

Stopping the pictures will at least satisfy what sociologist Philip Slater has called America's "taboo compulsion": if you can flush a problem out of sight, then it no longer exists. The righteously banned child pornography Americans can then continue to ignore, suppress and abuse their children or through the press (such as this) make a fact of it.

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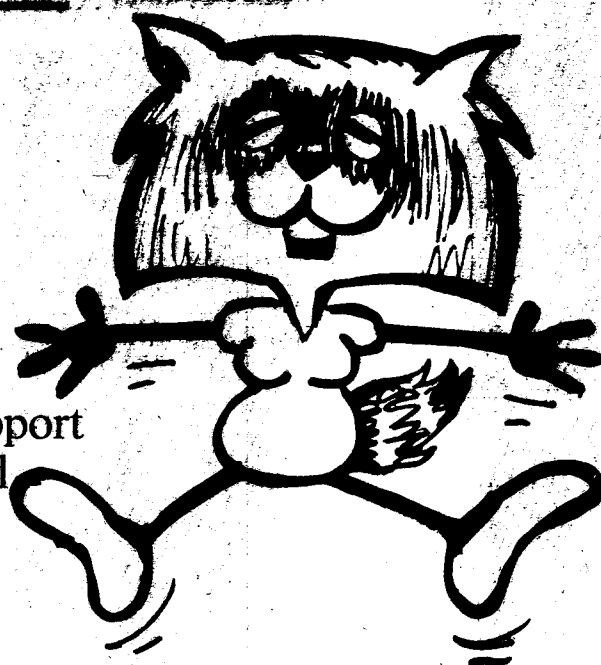
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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

FILM

A fistful of foreign films

THE MARQUISE OF O...

Directed by Eric Rohmer
Starring Edith Clever and
Bruno Ganz

More erotic than its explicitly anatomical box-office competition, this finely crafted, charming tale of a young widowed Marquise who finds herself inexplicably expectant achieves its intensity through subtlety and suggestion, once again proving that director Eric Rohmer is a master of emotional understatement.

Best-known for his "Six Moral Tales" (among them *My Night at Muide's*, *Claire's Knee* and *Chloe in the Afternoon*), Rohmer has departed from his examination of modern man's ethical dilemmas to explore this thematically related story of 18th century indiscretion and recompense.

The atmosphere of aristocratic Italy in the late 1700s is beautiful-

ly captured in settings that are carefully attentive to every detail. Edith Clever as the Marquise has a face straight out of a Da Vinci notebook. Both she and Bruno Ganz, as the passionate, angelic count with a fatal flaw, give excellent performances, which are enhanced by a first-rate supporting cast.

Neither experimental or "New Wave," *The Marquise of O...* is an irresistibly engaging, warmly rewarding film. Rohmer shows that the old-fashioned stories, done with the right touch, are still the best stories. —P.H.

FELLINI'S CASANOVA

Written, directed and produced
by Fellini
Starring (as Casanova) Donald
Sutherland

Someone else has already written that this epic has more to say about Fellini than Casanova. It is exaggeratedly opulent and

appallingly unexciting. The "explicit" seduction scenes are handled in the manner of a Japanese No drama, where a gesture or posture is arbitrarily assigned the meaning of some action considered unreproducible on stage. Here a series of fast push-ups are to be read as sexual intercourse.

There are lots of beautiful women. None is memorable in this context. Sutherland deserves some sort of merit for toughing it out. —J.S.

IN THE REALM OF THE SENSES

Directed by Nagisa Oshima
Production Director Kaji Wakamatsu
Starring Eiko Matsuda and
Tatsuya Fuji

The lure of cheap thrills under cover of respectable interest in art has packed houses showing Oshima's *In The Realm of the Senses*. But patrons expecting prurient titillation sometimes leave early, demanding their money back.

The film is a graphic and compelling chronicle of sexual obsession, based on the true story of Sada Abe, a geisha who was discovered wandering the streets of Tokyo in 1936 carrying the severed genitals of her lover. The story of how she arrived at such a state is the substance of the plot.

Leftist Japanese director Oshima seems to have abandoned the overt politics of his earlier work to concentrate on the complicated relationship between two individuals. But the script of *In The Realm of the Senses* contains some strong, if not explicit, social statements. For instance, he contrasts the predominantly western, soft-headed stereotypes of oriental culture with the stark, sometimes grim, realities that lie



Burstyn and Gielgud in *Providence*

behind its elegant facade. The lovely geishas, seen up close, have flaking, pasty white faces and lose their exquisite grace when they engage in the activities they are, after all, there to perform.

The purpose of the story of Sada and Kichisan is not to excite any of the onlookers, including us. What they do they do for themselves. We, like the intruding maids, are impartial and unparticipating observers. It is neither erotic nor pornographic. It just is. —P.H.

PROVIDENCE

Screenplay by David Mercer
Directed by Alain Resnais
Starring John Gielgud, Ellen
Burstyn and Dirk Bogarde
Rated R

Providence is probably not a film for everyone. But for the audience it does reach, it is a must-see. Made by a fine French director, Alain Resnais (*Hiroshima, Mon Amour*, *Last Year at Marienbad*, and *La Guerre Est Fini*) with a French crew and an English-speaking cast, the film is a strange amalgam of opposites—reality and fantasy, novel and cinema—fascinating and absorbing once you have figured out what's going on up there on the screen.

The central character (played by John Gielgud) is an aging, ill novelist. The time span of the film is the night before his 69th birthday and the luncheon party that celebrates it. The lives of those closest to him and his own life, his feelings and theirs, his perceptions of the relationships—and the scenarist's perception of the "real" relationships—these are the stuff of the plot. It doesn't sound suspenseful, but—at least for this reviewer—it is.

Production values are as lavish as a writer's imagination. *Bon mots* are scattered through the dialogue like raisins in a pudding. And the performances of Gielgud, Dirk Bogarde, David Warner, Ellen Burstyn and Elaine Stritch are superb. —J.S.

MAN ON THE ROOF

Written and directed by Bo Widerberg
Starring Carl-Ludwig Guderbladt

Except for one moment, *Man on the Roof* could be dismissed as a typical cop or heist thriller, good for a special. That one thing that motivates

of the sniper's mania: bad, brutal or uncaring cops and the *esprit de corps* that protects them from the vengeance of the victim and from public correction.

The motivation is explored in depth, from the initial incident (the death of the sniper's wife), which is the result of callous sloppiness on the part of the villain (who is dead when the film starts), down through a spectrum of greater crimes—seen from the viewpoint of policemen, victims and friends of the criminal—to the final triggering action, which is mild by comparison.

Bo Widerberg directed *Elvira Madigan* and *The Ballad of Joe Hill*. This is a change of pace, to put it mildly. —J.S.

BLACK AND WHITE IN COLOR

Directed by Jean-Jacques
Annaud
Screenplay by Jean-Jacques
Georges C. L. L.
Distributed by United Artists

After directing about 400 TV commercials, Jean-Jacques Annaud wrote and directed his first feature film, *Black and White in Color*, and for it won the Motion Picture Academy's Oscar for the Best Foreign Film of 1976. This seems to have more to do with the politics of the Academy than with the superiority of the film, which happens to be fascinating. But in a year that produced *Cousin Cousine* and *Seven Beauties*, one wonders at their choice.

Set at the time of WWI in French West Africa, *Black and White in Color* is a deceptively powerful indictment of colonialism and the inanity of war. Perhaps even more, it is an analysis of the development of a dictatorial leader (played by Jacques Spiesser) who becomes that to bring order to French inertia and chaos. The film begins with almost musical comedy Foreign Legion types and parades every cliché in the book. Little by little the characterizations become more penetrating and funnier as the parts to add up to serious drama, which is brought into focus by the surprise ending of the film.

Black and White in Color will anger a lot of people, however, with its view of Africans as passive primitives who maintain their dignity through gentle amusement while the whims of Europeans pass them by. —M.L.



Sutherland as Casanova



Man on the Roof

Like film, jazz has its archeologists mining the near past, which has become in this sense as remote as the Paleolithic Age. Some of these people work at universities (Rutgers and Livingston College are fine examples). Others work on their own, scrounging around attics in search of lost artifacts. Many of

(These monstrosities are usually the end-product of 'poor originals' that have been improperly re-mastered and recorded. There are a number of reasons for the defects: the originals were carelessly stored; the shellac used

The Bluebird Series has concentrated on jazz (swing, New Orleans, big band) but has also released albums of country,



bluegrass and blues (a collection of Little Brother Montgomery's *Crescent City Blues*). In all cases the albums are important for their presentation of American artists under the best possible conditions, genuine additions to the growing body of popular culture and to anyone's library of original American music. Driggs has countless projects in various stages at this time. Collections of Duke Ellington and Jelly Roll Morton are in the works. Two Fats Waller collections have already been released; both are priceless.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann teaches media-related subjects at Eastern Illinois University and reviews regularly for *In These Times*.



Ann Phillips

Donald Steinberg

4. When analyzing Carter's proposals for health reform, a behind-the-scenes interview with a top-level official of a major U.S. health insurance feature magazine, the Church has been able to gather a number of resistance to health care in

the United World Support on the Defense of American Jewry, says, "The Israel Community Center, an international Jewish Community, on the eve of the elec-

Garson

REFELLERS
Horowitz and Peter

important books, originally at prices that put them out of the reach of many readers, have recently come in paperback.

As Barbara Garson's *Working Day*, which is a strange and another work in the literary-view themselves. Garson worked in packers in an Oyster and in various jobs, and with the formation of passion, mediated by the comic that made her as the author, in *MACBETH*.

Mythbusters is a member of the family that has a synonym for "noble." The early section (or demythify) the work of John D. Of more recent interest to Americans

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BOOKS

Cuba's poor 10 years after revolution

FOUR MEN FOUR WOMEN

The first two of a three-volume series: *Living the Revolution: An Oral History of Contemporary Cuba*

By Oscar Lewis, Ruth M. Lewis and Susan M. Rigdon
Univ. of Illinois Press, \$15 each

Oscar Lewis' last anthropological project has a prickly history, and his widow and co-worker tells it with deference to all concerned in their forward to the work she and Susan Rigdon have completed since Lewis' death.

Fidel Castro, impressed by the "revolutionary" weight of Lewis' slum studies in capitalist Mexico, "genuinely if impulsively" invited him to apply his famous techniques in Cuba where socialism was destroying slums and opening a new life to their inhabitants. Fidel promised no government interference and no reprisals for interviewees, no matter how freely they talked.

At a time when Cuba and the U.S. were virtually at war, the State department's amenability and Ford Foundation grants to the project made some Cuban leaders suspicious, but apparently not Fidel. The Lewis team (seven assistants with an arsenal of equipment, ten young Cubans assigned to cooperate and learn) piled up tapes and transcripts for 16 months. Then in 1970 they were suddenly told to pack up and leave, and some of their material was confiscated.



CHILDREN'S CORNER

Esme on comics

You may ask why are comics good for people to read? Well, it's easier and farther apart to read from, and not something boring like a spelling bee. And there in little balloons, not on lines. It's also fun to read.

Anyway it's something new to people who don't read. It's not a book or a piece of paper, and it's usually the opposite of TV.

But everybody loves the comedy, especially Lulu. I have a Lulu comic from the '50s. I have a collection of comics. Even little Margie, Dagwood and others.

You will learn what a sardine salami and tomato sandwich is from Tubby. It's fun for children and grown-ups can enjoy also. My brother ledge loves them so much, he throws them all over my room.

—Esme Raji Codell

Esme Codell is eight years old and intends to be a sports writer when she is older.



Revolutions have never been made by bums; and those who are aware of this will be exasperated by what *Four Men* seems to imply about poor people.

Oscar Lewis was suddenly told to leave Cuba in the course of preparing *Four Men and Four Women*.

Ruth Lewis says that each side had till then kept its part of the original bargain, but Oscar was now charged with breaking it by—*inter alia*—studying brazen counter-revolutionaries. The only such Cuban they had interviewed was arrested just after they left. When Ruth Lewis last had word of him he was in good health cutting cane on a prison farm.

Two years later Raul Castro denounced Oscar, who had died six months after leaving Cuba, as a secret agent. The charge was about as substantial as those brought against agronomist Rene Dumont and journalist K.S. Karol who, also in 1970, fell from Fidel's grace by criticizing Cuba.

Ruth Lewis' description of Oscar as "a humanist with a long-time interest in socialism" might fit all three.

It would be a pity if *Four Men* were to re-ignite Cuban wrath, but perhaps it will, for it's far from what Fidel must have thought he ordered. The males whose stories were distilled for this 538-page tome on "Living the Revolution," were a woeful selection.

Four Men is primarily a study

of the culture of lumpen. The four "love" the revolution once made but, except for one elderly son of slaves, balk at its demands. Still somewhat charmed by the Yanquis, they are more concerned to beef about what it hasn't than to understand what it has done for them. When we meet them, a decade of socialist trial and error under fire has taught them little. With the above exception their racism continues, and with no exceptions, their *macho* sexism. The male brutality and self-righteousness of Lewis' subjects is stupefying. Nor that sexist-racist lumpen don't exist in Cuba. They represent a major problem for socialist new-brooms anywhere, especially perhaps in Latin America. But one account, among four, of a lumpen's before-and-after response to the revolution would have been adequate.

Revolutions have never been made by bums; and those who are aware of this will be exasperated by what *Four Men* seems to imply about poor people. Lewis always insisted that he "never presented his people as typical," yet that implication may excusably be drawn. But de-

cent and positive people live in slums everywhere, and there were many in Cuba who risked or gave their lives to make a revolution under Uncle Sam's nose. It seems a pity Oscar Lewis could not find one of them to study.

Fortunately for the project as a whole, the second volume (scheduled to appear in September) substantially repairs the damage. A capable summary of before-and-after female status in Cuba precedes stories of the four women, all except one from the social depths, all doing their bit for the revolution. Their courage, intelligence and modesty presents a striking contrast to the men of volume one. If they have racist hangovers, they are trying to analyze and correct them. They criticize the revolution's shortcomings in the positive spirit of people ready to learn and to cooperate for its improvement, and there is a genuine ring to their expressions of loyalty.

One of the four, a devout Catholic, once dabbled in counter-revolution under the spell of a wolf-in-sheep's-clothing priest. She and a poor farmer's daughter (also a Catholic) describe from different angles their struggle to

resolve the religion-and-Marxism conflict. A mulatto ex-prostitute, now a lab technician studying industrial engineering at government expense, mercifully leaves to our imagination all but the barest details of her former customers' bestialities.

The four women's restraint on horizontal themes leaves for more interesting vertical ones. Their personal experiences throw new highlights on the dramatic experience of their country: the Batista terror, the Sierra Maestra and underground struggles, the Bay of Pigs, the literacy campaign, the prostitute rehabilitation program, the Committees for Defense of the Revolution, attitudes toward Americans and Russians and many revolutionary problems not yet solved. Unfitted as I am to speak for anthropologists, I recommend *Four Women* not only to students of revolutions and of women's liberation, but as rewarding reading about a cross-section of human beings whose lives have universal meaning.

Could it be that no woman on the level of Lewis' four lumpen men were to be found in Cuba? Bernard Shaw, who embarked on *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism* in a moment of despair about male common sense, would be chortling. And on the evidence here presented, I would urge Fidel to reconsider with utmost seriousness the male supremacy in his cabinet.

—Cedric Belfrage

Cedric Belfrage was for many years Editor-in-Exile of the *National Guardian* and was a correspondent in Cuba, 1961-62.



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In These Times

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Shelley Duvall was chosen as Best Actress this past week at the Cannes Film Festival for her role in Robert Altman's *Three Women*.

Squeezing the independent trucker



By Neill Herring
ATLANTA—From May 18-20 the International Trucking Exposition filled the cavernous exhibit hall of the Georgia World Congress Center here with trucks, trailers, engine and equipment displays, as well as with thousands of people from the motor transport industry. About 75 percent of American freight is transported by truck, and the trade show, the first held outside of California, served as a showcase for products ranging from entire rigs to rust inhibitors and mechanics' tools.

The exhibition was like those in many other industries: partially clad women decorated booths and expensive exhibits displayed products in glamorous settings. But the profusion of trucking concerns from individual owner operators through huge fleets made for a show with a little more "common touch."

Prominently displayed was the fastest truck in the world—a heavily modified Kenworth tractor with a Detroit diesel engine, driven 144 miles per hour at the Bonneville Salt Flats by a man named Tyrone Malone. There were also hourly country and western music shows featuring Bonnie Nelson, the "Transtar Rose," a lady who works for the International Harvester Company. And the usual proliferation of aggressive salesmen peddling everything from engines to oil treatments littered the floor with brochures, buttons and ballyhoo.

I spoke with a representative from Peterbilt, a truck producer, like Kenworth, that is a wholly owned subsidiary of the Paccar Company, about what it was like competing with the majors in a specialized market. He asked me "what majors?" I pointed to the adjacent General Motors and Ford displays and said "the Big Three." He drew up and remarked pointedly, "We're the majors in the truck business, not them."

Strong presence of independents.

The strong presence of independent companies is one of the aspects of trucking that removes it from the norm in American

industry. But while there are many independents in the industry—both in transport and supply—there is also a significant and growing presence of Fortune 500 firms. Many of the players were divisions of Ford, Chrysler and G.M., as well as corporate giants like Rockwell, Eaton, the various oil companies and even some electronics manufacturers (metering and control equipment as well as the expected CBs and fuzzbusters).

There is a lot of money to be made in trucking. The industry has grown from bare restability in the '20s into a major component of our transportation system.

Trucking operations can be roughly divided into two groups: fleets and independents, although overlap between the two blurs the distinction. Most fleets are owned either by large shipping concerns or by a manufacturer. Some fleets are now being formed of vehicles owned and operated by independents but under lease to a fleet owner.

Most fleets are unionized by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and that has resulted in about half of the independent truckers becoming often unwilling members of that union. At the Atlanta exposition they Teamsters were the only important segment of the industry that had no representation.

Relegated to periphery.

The 40 percent of the truckers who are independent owner operators fall into a variety of categories: Some may be leased to fleets. Others exist outside the maze of regulated trucking and haul so-called "exempt commodities" like fresh fish or produce that are not subject to ICC regulation. Still others are in the less tightly restricted business of household movers.

They are independent business people (the number of female truckers is growing) whose capital consists of one or more trucks valued at about \$200,000 per unit. They exist on an economic margin so thin that an estimated 80,000 of them gave up last year either through economic pressure or disgust with the mountains of paperwork caused by layers of regulation.

Their foe in the transportation market is regulation, they are quick to tell you. Regulation has reduced competition in the common carrier section of the industry—that portion dominated by unionized fleets—and the independents have been relegated to the periphery.

The common carriers, backed by the

Teamsters, are loath to see any "deregulation" in trucking for fear that competition will undermine their revenue bases and force them into unwanted, "wasteful" price competition for freight. The independents, styling themselves "true free enterprisers," attack the pro-regulatory stance of the fleets and demand at least partial state and federal deregulation.

Independents being driven out.

The independents, although more productive (due to intense self-exploitation) are in fact slowly being driven from the industry. They lose numbers yearly and tend to view their eventual extinction with a fatalism that reflects a realistic perception of the growth of monopoly power in the economy.

But to assume that they contemplate their own demise philosophically is wrong. They are quite willing to fight and showed immense power in the national truckers' strike of 1974.

The economic forces arrayed against the independent truckers are impressive. Rising capital costs, as in other industries, are the greatest obstacles facing the owner-operator. Overlapping and intricate state and federal regulation also continues as a problem. The unknowns of new fuel policies will undoubtedly make entry into the markets even more difficult.

It is clear that should the forces of accumulation and concentration continue their seemingly inexorable growth unabated, the independents will be crushed and driven from the market. Their only possible option is to act decisively in the interest of self-preservation while they still exercise a vital role in the transportation system, not after they have been pushed from the field.

The truckers seem to be aware of their eleventh hour but are content with established channels while they gauge Carter. They think they may be able to win some deregulation through the "Overdrive Bill" (HR-2443), a measure that aims to allow empty trucks to carry certain "regulated" items on return trips home. Such a reform would bring them into competition with common carriers in a market heretofore closed to them.

Should they be thwarted in reform, or squeezed at the gas pump, the power they showed in 1974 should be remembered before they are counted out.

Neill Herring is a freelance writer in Atlanta.

**More on trucking
on page 20.**